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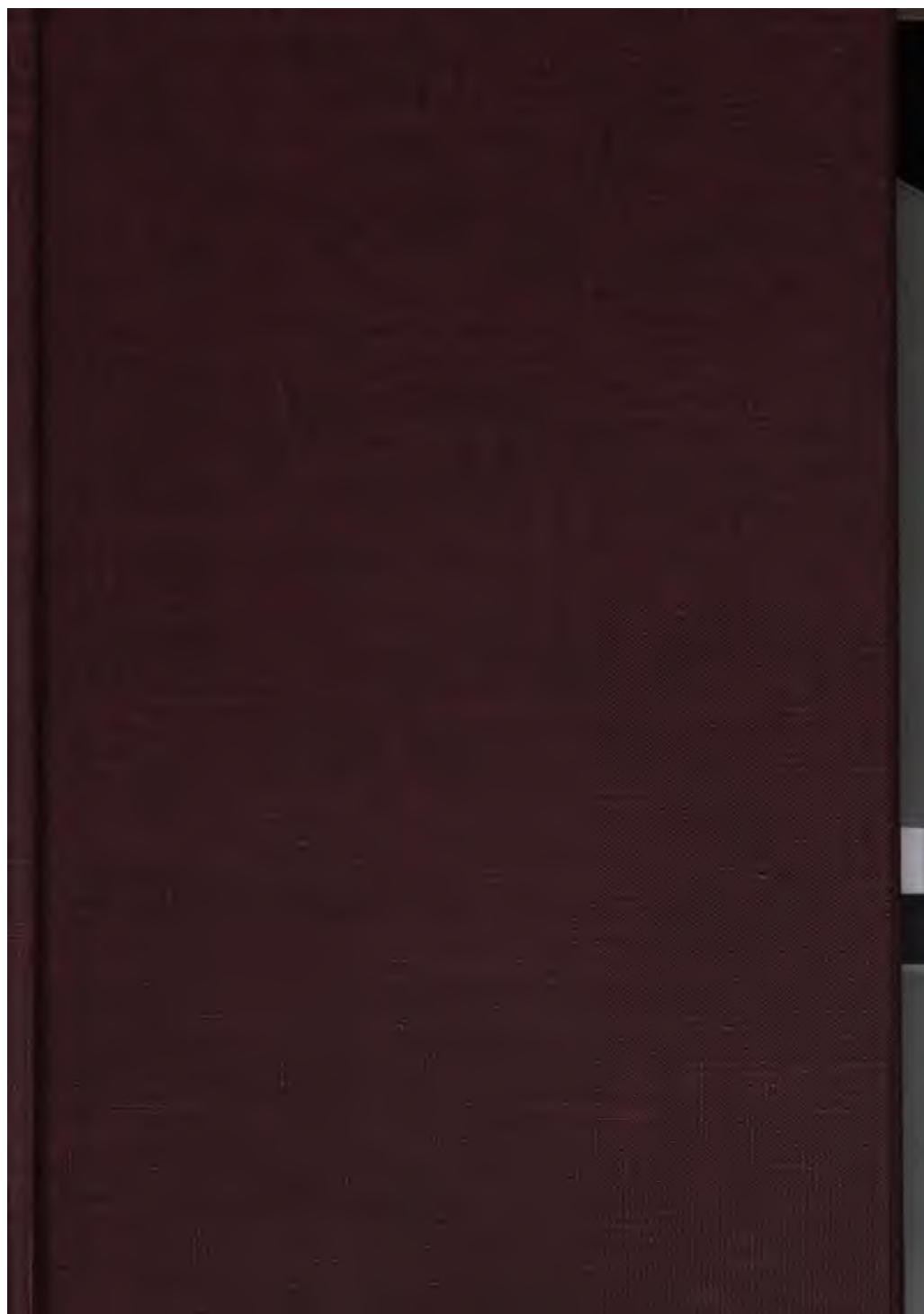
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CITY WORKER'S WORLD**

AMERICAN SOCIAL PROGRESS SERIES

EDITED BY

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY, PH.D., LL.D.
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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AMERICAN SOCIAL PROGRESS SERIES

THE
CITY WORKER'S WORLD
IN AMERICA

BY
MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH
Director of Greenwich House

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1917

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**I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME
WITH THE GREATEST
ADMIRATION AND AFFEC-
TION TO HER WHO, MORE
POIGNANTLY THAN ANY
OTHER IN THIS GENERA-
TION, HAS SOUNDED THE
DEPTHS OF LIFE IN THE
INDUSTRIAL CENTRES OF
AMERICA**

JANE ADDAMS

PREFACE

It is by art that the life of the industrial family is best portrayed. The high lights of verse or canvas or drama give the poignant and direct testimony of experience.

This little book, alas, fails of being either art or science. But while it cannot claim these high avenues of expression, it may serve the more modest but no less useful purpose of furnishing a plain description of the facts of the city dweller's life, together with some indications of the evolutionary process going on at the city's heart.

Books have taught me much. No doubt their messages have coloured my reflections. But experience has led me to discard much book knowledge as untrue, more as irrelevant, and most as anæmic in the face of life itself.

More than to all other experiences the rich years have bestowed, do I owe to the illumination of my fifteen years at Greenwich House. No day goes by without its quota of testimony given by our whole resident group from association with our neighbours. This body of experience, growing day by day, is larger than the individual observer could hope to grasp. And I want, therefore, gratefully to acknowledge to my associates their helpful share in the formation of such convictions as I have been able here to present.

More frequent illustration would greatly have enlivened this attempt to present an introduction to the understanding of the industrial family, but this had to be sacrificed in the interest of a desirable brevity. Adequate illustration indeed would involve the story of Greenwich House itself. This I hope at some later day to tell in different guise. But without the strenuous life that I have lived under its happy ægis, I could not have ventured to offer to student and general reader this attempt at bringing together in one volume the varied aspects of the city worker's world.

M. K. S.

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THE CITY WORKER'S WORLD IN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

THE INDUSTRIAL FAMILY

American society is still so dynamic and so fluid that a consideration of any particular class is almost offensive to the instinctive belief that we are members all of one group and that such differentiation as exists is one of function rather than of status. This belief does credit to our ideals if not to our pragmatic sense.

The hired man may still eat at the same table with his employer, the iron worker may still become a master of iron and of gold, the factory hand may yet become the boss. For relatively speaking our country is still a classless land. But it would be an affectation to pretend that in the large this is as true to-day as it was yesterday or that it may be as true to-morrow as it is to-day.

In any case there exists to-day vast groups of workers who spend their lives in industry. And with the development of manufacture and the growth of cities this group is becoming larger and more im-

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portant. Their life is an increasing factor in the life of the nation. Their standard of life, their labour, recreation, education, and health, their social relationships and aspirations are of vital interest to every American. So important is this group that an understanding of its nature would seem to be a matter both of profound curiosity and of deep concern. The cook who sets out to make a cherry pie — the last word of culinary perfection — will see that the table is cold, the ice at hand, the flour of the right quality and the butter properly worked, the cherries of luscious ripeness and the oven of the exact moderation of heat designed to produce that fusion of stickiness and crispness that melts, while it both thrills and inspires. Our social life also as a whole is dependent on the proper fusion of parts. Failure in any direction mars the whole. A proper understanding, therefore, lies at the root of all our conscious social progress; for misunderstandings result in prejudice, in antagonisms and in passion, which check the harmonious progress of the nation.

The deepest misapprehension in regard to the life of the industrial classes is based upon a double attitude toward poverty. On one side we hear poverty exalted as the desirable mother of virtues and on the other we perceive a tendency to associate poverty with crime. The poor man is the "good man" — the poor man is the "bad man." He is the good man when we are trying to excuse the existence of poverty; he is the bad man when we are trying to shift our responsibility to his shoulders. If goodness and kindness and brotherliness are to be found

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in a more marked degree among the more lowly, what is the objection to lowliness? On the other hand, if crime and ignorance are associated more largely with the poor, what hope have we that the poor will be able to rise to a higher status or that, if they do, they will not overthrow society with its culture and hard-won attainments? Either of these attitudes leads to a disastrous conclusion. The former ends in a false mysticism, in the worship of "my lady Poverty"; the latter results in an identification of the poor with the ignorant and the criminal which turns the attention away from evil-doing in other classes and which engenders a fear that is largely, as we shall hope to show, groundless.

The lumping of people in classes is for the most part dangerous. What do we mean by the poor? What is the industrial family? In a succeeding chapter on the standard of living we shall try to indicate the nature of this problem more clearly. Here it is enough to say that roughly all those who fail to have the means by which they may become assets to the community may be considered "poor," and that by the industrial family we mean all those who are engaged in trade, manufacture, mining, etc., who are working for others than themselves, with the exception of those employes who receive so high a salary or whose work is of such a nature that they are no longer conscious of being wage-workers, but identify themselves rather with the owners and capitalists whose agents they are. The professional classes, though often poorer than industrial wage-workers, are here omitted from consideration. To place a somewhat arbitrary figure as our upper

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limit, we may say roughly that our consideration of the Industrial Family includes wage-workers of various sorts whose family income ranges from \$1500 down to the minimum of subsistence below which the family becomes a public charge.

An examination into the life of this family will show that, whatever be its stratifications and its relation to society as a whole, neither "goodness" nor "badness" are to be regarded as more characteristic of this group than of any other. Groups develop standards and there are certain virtues and vices which correspond to their needs or their stages of development. The relativity of morals to group life makes it incumbent upon us at once to discard both the sentimental point of view that would exalt poverty as the safeguard of virtues, or the self-exonerating position that makes the poor the dumping ground of undesirable vices and ignorances. While questions of personal morality will always play a part in social development, they are to be found alike in all classes, and it is a matter of interest rather than of importance to marshal the virtues and vices of separate groups for admiration or condemnation.

Our question then is, How does this important group of workers live? Not only what are the incomes and expenditures of this group, but what values lie in this group that we cannot afford to lose from the social whole, and what is society already doing or failing to do to protect these values and develop them for the sake of us all?

The proportion of the group that is of native

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stock we know only approximately, for our census of occupations goes back only one generation.¹

But of the total engaged in domestic service, trade and transportation, in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, we may be sure, census or no, that a very large proportion of them, as of our farmers, and many professional men are of alien stock. In other words, our wage-earners are mainly foreigners and the life of the industrial family is the life of the immigrant or of his children. Their traits, customs, habits, desires must therefore be of intensest concern to us all.

The early stream² from Northern Europe has steadily given way to the vast industrial army from Southern and Eastern Europe. The Irish who poured in after the great potato famine of 1846 succeeded the original English, Scotch-Irish, Dutch, and Huguenot immigrants. These original settlers by the beginning of the nineteenth century had become

¹ ABSTRACT OF THE THIRTEENTH U. S. CENSUS, PAGE 83

Total population, 1910	91,972,266
Native	78,456,380
Foreign-born	13,515,886
Total population having parents (one or both) born in foreign countries	13,345,545
Total population at least 10 years of age	71,580,270
Engaged in all gainful occupations	6,615,046

² Students of immigration will find Vol. XV of the Report of the Industrial Commission (1901) invaluable, especially Chapter IX entitled "The Foreign Immigrant in New York City" by Kate H. Claghorn, Ph.D.

Much of interest is to be found *passim* in Commons's "Races and Immigrants in America." *Vide* also R. Mayo-Smith's "Emigration and Immigration." The most important recent report is the report of the Commission on Immigration of Massachusetts, 1914. House Document No. 2300.

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our Americans. "Immigrant" has come to connote in general the Irish, the Scandinavian, the German, the Italian, the Slav, the Jew.

The Irish ¹ still remain largely in the cities, though many abandoned New England and other farms have been regenerated by their labour. Their poor physical condition on arrival, due to poverty at home, to evil conditions on board ship, and to insanitary dwellings in their adopted land, rendered the Irish less ambitious or able to take advantage of the opportunity for pressing on to Western homesteads and wider chances for economic advancement.

The Irish still suffer from their original handicap of poverty. They furnish their striking quota of pauperism and of criminality in our large cities. Their high death rate from tuberculosis, second only to that of the negro, testifies to their bad physical condition, though it may be due equally to their large consumption of alcohol which so accelerates a fatal course in tuberculosis. Their supreme gift for conversation make them numerous in the law, the church and in journalism, and their sociability and gift for human relationship has given them their pre-eminence in politics,² and is responsible for their genius as contractors. In trade and commerce they have lost ground fast to the German and latterly to the Italian and the Jew. As wage-workers they are teamsters, dock labourers, etc. Their native cour-

¹ Herbert Casson's articles in *Munsey's Magazine*: "The Irish in America," April, 1906, p. 86, Vol. XXXV, No. 1; "The Germans in America," March, 1906, p. 694, Vol. XXXIV, No. 6.

² "Friendship and Politics," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1902, by M. K. Simkhovitch.

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age and bravery has foreordained them to be the heroes of our fire departments, and their pleasing physique as well as a fine fighting quality make them good soldiers in war and police officers in peace.

Their women are distinguished by a refinement and native good taste that results with their vivid personal religion in chastity in morals, in a simplicity in dress and a feeling of personal pride and self-possession that is unequalled. The Irish girl takes a high place in industry, owing to this sense of style that makes of her our best dressmaker and milliner, and her refinement and agreeable manners fit her pre-eminently for all positions where one comes in contact with people. In the professions she shines as teacher. A great social gift and good taste are the pre-eminent characteristics of the Irish, investing them with a charm that is unique. A sense of personal dignity exists even when based on nothing visible to the beholder.

The anthropologists will no longer allow us to use the expression "race traits" and any characterisation of a race group is bound to be partial and limited. Due as these qualities doubtless largely are to environment, we can yet not fail to observe the differentiation that marks off one group from another. Brave, extravagant, proud, fond of life and with a genius for extracting the juice from simply living, the Irish are pre-eminently the socially gifted among America's children. Their personal pride manifests itself also in a physical self-respect.

The Germans came to this country for varying reasons. There was the small political group, the '48ers, which has ever since formed a coterie by itself,

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the leaders among German Americans. The great mass of Germans came over, some to escape military service, but more as a result of the economic pressure at home and in search of the more favourable opportunities afforded by the new land.

Thrifty, thorough and hard-working, the Germans have made headway in an inconspicuous but steadfast and continuous manner that has made them a valuable integral part of our life. In business and the professions they are widely spread. Early emigrating west from New York, they have built up whole western cities and states. The German women, famed for house-keeping, keep their homes tidy and attractive, and a good diet doubtless helps preserve the fine home life so traditionally German.

The Scandinavians, coming here to improve their economic conditions, have largely gone west to develop our farms, and with their reliability, intelligence, force of character and industry, they have helped to make the Northwest the fortress it is of strength and progress. Their women make the most superior houseworkers, and the higher classes of personal service, such as chauffeurs, are largely recruited from this group. Their amalgamation with American life is practically accomplished, and their contribution of ability and general soundness has been considerable. The Irish, Germans and Scandinavians all furnish a growing quota to the higher rewards of industry and in public life they are contributing an increasing number of distinguished names.

The Slavs,¹ the latest large group of incom-

¹ "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens," by Emily G. Balch.

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ing aliens, are recruited partly by hopes of improvement, partly by the work of steamship agents and others interested in obtaining a supply of strong, cheap labour, and most of all by the "letter home." One prosperous immigrant is gradually followed by all his kin and acquaintance from the little village where he was born. This group of varying nationalities, the Croatian, the Slovak, the Ruthenian and others, are strong of body, and simple in thought and action. The distinctively human traits of family life, play, relationship, and neighbourliness,¹ are seen in their nakedness more markedly in this group than in any others. The veneer of education, political aspiration, modern fashion of whatever sort, is almost absent. Unfitted for skilled industrial work, with sparing adaptability to modern modes, the Slav falls easily a prey to the mines, the slaughter houses and the steel mills. There his primitive strength is demanded and used. The wages are so high from his old-home point of view and his standard of living so low that even with a low wage, large savings are made and banked or more likely returned to enrich the members of the family still remaining on the other side, or to bring them on here. The accidents, the exhaustion, the early break-down, do not result in a scarcity of labour in the great industries they support, for an ever fresh supply pours in at Ellis Island.

The Syrian makes the cities his headquarters. There he lives in the poorest quarters at a very low expenditure. He is a trader, a seller of cheap lace and a manufacturer of cheap garments. He is fa-

¹ See Cooley, "Social Organisation."

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miliar also as a peddler and sells a low grade of goods in the country districts. As a trader and merchant he rises in the economic scale. As an importer, as a maker of sweetmeats, as a trader, he succeeds in advancing himself, but only by a low standard of living, by engaging in sweated industries or by displacing others at a lower wage in industry, and by taking advantage of every opportunity of placing his children in institutions. The silk mills attract the Syrian immigrant. The Turk fills the night shift in the steel works. Unaccompanied by their families these latest comers will live in the cheapest manner and engage in any work that they can get, in order to gain a foothold in American industry.

Oriental immigrants cannot be said as yet to be an important element in American life, except the Chinese and Japanese, whose importance is local and in regard to whom a fairly definite policy of exclusion may be said to have crystallised.

We may then say with an approximation to truth that the German and the Scandinavian have melted into our life and strengthened it, that the Slav is to be found in the industrial centres doing our hardest work, and that the Irish have either risen and become American assets or else they have sunk to form a part of the problem of poverty in our cities.

With agricultural labour, with industry in the smaller centres, this book does not deal. For important as these aspects of our national life are, it is in the great and increasingly great cities that the problem of democracy is being wrought out. It is there that success or failure is to be made. The two most important peoples in our cities beside the

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Irish are the Jew and the Italian. The great Jewish stream rose to its full height in the '80s, due to the persecution of the Jews in Russia. Previous Jewish immigration (and this dates back to early colonial days) was not due to other causes than those that attracted their fellow-countrymen from various lands, but the tide of the '80s had its origin in escape from religious persecution and the racial antagonism of the ruling class at home.

Once a stream of immigration gets under way it flows by itself in increasing numbers till the group is exhausted, until some artificial check of governmental prevention succeeds in stemming it, or until conditions here become so unfavourable as to retard it, or conditions in the parent country improve enough to resist it. None of these hindrances to continued immigration exist in the case of the Jews. The early German Jewish group is vastly outnumbered by this more recent stream from Russia, Poland, Austria, Galicia and Roumania. Without any preparation on the part of America to meet this new group, it naturally clotted in the great cities into self-sufficient quarters, where the old life could be continued, though under vastly more favourable conditions. Accustomed through centuries of oppression to the crowded life of ghettos, the American tenement proved nothing strange. A sociable, excitable, intellectual people, used to city or village life, the new environment offers exactly what is to them most desirable — opportunities for education, for free discussion and for work. Free from the curse of alcoholism that endangers the Irish and the Slav and to a certain extent the Scandinavian and

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even the German, and apparently immune from the worst ravages of tuberculosis through centuries of elementary hygiene, and it may be through long acquaintance with this very disease, gifted with purposive mental habits which have enabled them to concentrate their attention on the end in view and to attain it—a vigour of body and of mind have resulted that gives them a great advantage in modern life. Eagerly seeking every chance for advancement, and largely disinclined through disuse, to agriculture or the manual arts,¹ the Jews continue to engage in commerce or to rise in the professions. The notable exception is that of the sweated manufacture of clothing, in which occupation the Jews are the most conspicuous group, easily explicable, first, in that it is a sedentary occupation, second, that it allows an informality in which conversation and discussion are still possible and in which regularity of hours is not insisted upon,² and third, it is, in the majority of cases, a stepping-stone to something else. It is an easy way for the foreigner to begin to make his way. It demands no particular skill in many branches and no knowledge of English. Many a distinguished lawyer or teacher or doctor has served his apprenticeship at the sewing machine and there earned the money which enabled him to abandon it forever. The rise of the Jew to economic independence is largely due to his desire to be free

¹ Every such characterisation is bound to be inaccurate. Handworkers are numerous among the Jews of Russia and of Galicia, but their number is relatively small to the whole. See "Jewish Immigrants as Tobacconists and Dairymen," *Survey*, Nov. 4, 1911.

² Largely piece work.

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for the enjoyment of a higher kind of life, the nature of which his mind perceives and his will attains. With the break-up of religious orthodoxy, old standards of home life and of racial custom disappear. A ready adjustment to new modes of life does not dissipate the interior energy born of this remarkable group,¹ which seizes upon every advantage offered and makes the most of it. The unpopularity of the Jew is due more largely to his aggressive manner than to his economic success, though this is an additional reason felt most keenly by former alien groups, who see themselves outrivalled in many directions.

This sudden entrance into industry, and for the most part into the worst-paid occupations, has given a sense of freedom to the Jewish girl unaccustomed to a life away from the home, which, combined with a low wage, a desire for dress and a natural ambition to have everything others have, has rendered her situation precarious. A stock that is rich in vivid personality is bound to react in violent readjustment to a new environment and to be deeply marked by it. Quick to learn, ready to work in trade and in the professions, indifferent housekeepers and unhandy with tools, deeply interested in social economic problems, ardent but calculating, passionate and rational, good citizens and equally good revolutionists, musical and with a gift for debate, with a love of finery, good food and luxury, the Jewish people seem to possess more contrasting traits than any others of our newcomers, but this is only because

¹ We do not say "race," for even among the Jews racial purity is questionable.

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they are of stronger fibre in each. They increasingly discard religion, or else conceive it as a social ethical matter bound up with the common life. A sense of values makes the Jew prefer education to wealth, but he perceives that wealth means the open door and prizes it accordingly. If a wider opportunity for all can be obtained by a different distribution of wealth the Jew acquiesces. He becomes a socialist under certain circumstances or a social reformer and philanthropist under others. The fundamental strength of the Jew is his power for purposive concentration. His weakness is his aggressiveness, which is the natural reaction occasioned by social repression.

Though fond of city life under proper circumstances, the Jew is not averse to rural life if it can be combined with social and educational advantages. Attempts that have been made to colonise the Jews by their co-religionists¹ have met with a partial success that makes it seem probable that further efforts in this direction will not be misplaced.

From Italy comes the other most notable stream that is filling our cities. Agricultural depression at home, the high taxes of a country just refinding itself and drained for military purposes, send the Italian to us. The Northern Italian of different blood and of different social antecedents of every sort, is a very real addition to our national life. Gifted, strong, with depth of character, grace and charm, the Northern Italian combines perhaps as many valuable elements in his composition as can be

¹ See work of Industrial Removal Society, New York City.

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found in Europe. But the Northern Italian is only a very small part of our immigration.

The Southern Italian comes to us with great capacity for work, and with a strong constitution. He is for the most part ignorant, where not positively illiterate. Of agreeable manners, he is passionate and uncontrolled in temper. He marries early and the ensuing large families finding it difficult to get along even with a simple and often insufficient diet, send their children early to work. The child labourer of the cities is par excellence the Italian child. The very early marriage of the Italian woman results in a lack of proper training of the children, for the Italian woman is uneducated and enters her mature responsibilities as an untrained child. Freedom from parental restraint and an early entrance without proper preparation of any sort into industrial life creates a second generation of Italians of inferior physique ready for physical or moral breakdown. How can anyone read with surprise the reports from our reformatories, etc., that indicate an increase in juvenile criminality among the Italians? The high rentals of the cities' tenements preclude the possibility of the proper amount of room for families on low wages. The result is an overcrowding increased by the very general custom of taking in boarders or lodgers. The fruits of this over-crowding are a lowered vitality that lends itself at once to the entrance of disease germs into the exhausted system and an increasing nervousness that tends towards heart troubles, insanity, and an excitement in general social inter-

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course, resulting in family friction and often in violence.

The Southern Italian comes to us a strong labourer and an undisciplined personality. He becomes whatever the discipline of his environment makes him. A low standard of living, bad housing, over-crowding, the prevalence of child labour, too early marriage, the lack of education of the Italian woman, these are all preventable evils, but it takes time, effort, thought, to prevent them. Gifted in the manual arts, with a taste for music and for simple social pleasures, the Italian, when freed from the most sordid conditions, has an aptitude for getting along with others that makes him most easy to assimilate. He must first, however, overcome the not unnatural suspicion he has of all overtures made to him, no matter how friendly. From experience he has learned that he cannot rely upon the good-will of this country and until that good-will is both more general and more genuine he will continue to foster his suspicions due to ignorance from which, again, it is the duty of the new country to which he is invited, to free him.

The Italian loves the country. Accustomed at home to work in the fields and to return at night to the social enjoyments of a small village, a similar development in our country would no doubt be the most acceptable form in which agricultural labour could be presented to him. Used to the care which intensive farming and gardening entails, the Italian has the patience for market gardening which the earlier Americans, accustomed to the extensive use of land, have largely lost. Already the overflow

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from our great cities indicates the profitable directions in which the Italian may turn. The colonies in New Jersey,¹ in Western New York, and especially in California, give promise that to the American, German, Dutch and Scandinavian farmers of the past and the present we shall add, and very soon, the Italian farmer of to-morrow.

The Poles with their onion farms in Massachusetts, the French Canadians in the New England mills, the Greeks in the florist business, as candy manufacturers and as bootblacks, these and other minor groups can only command an interesting glance. But in the study of the industrial family of the great cities, it is the Irish, the German, the Jew and the Italian that form the principal groups around which the problems of city life cluster.² For "the popular impression among the workmen of Europe is that the United States is one of four things, a city street, the bed of a railroad, a factory or a coal mine."³ The Slavs go to the mines, all nations to the factories, the Italians to the railroad beds and the city streets, the Jews centre in cities, and the Irish have largely remained in congested centres, as have a number of Germans.

It is still generally believed, as was officially stated in the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for June, 1908,⁴ "that proportionately our immigration does not come from as desirable sources as in earlier times, i. e. the aliens who come

¹ "The Italian on the Land." Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 70.

² But the Slavs are increasing in the large cities.

³ P. 179, Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, June, 1908.

⁴ P. 120, line 6.

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to us now, being so different from our original stock, cannot so readily be assimilated into the body politic."

But such statistics as are available relating to pauperism and criminality by no means confirm this popular belief, and no satisfactory evidence has been produced to show that immigration as a whole has resulted in an increase in crime, disproportionate to the increase in adult population. No scientific crime distribution figures by races are obtainable.

It would be fair to state that in general the recently arrived immigrants who have passed the federal requirements for admission do not show any dangerous signs of pauperism or criminality. These are products of their environment here, and in the second generation more disturbing indications are presented of our failure to assimilate than of their lack of assimilability, while for the third generation we have no reliable data of any sort. Our failure seems to consist in allowing the congestion of great cities to continue and increase and in doing too little to permeate with education and improvement of living conditions, united alien groups to be found dotted over all our industrial centres, and so bring about a rapid merger with the main stream of American life.

The most notable machinery for adequate distribution, apart from various private and philanthropic agencies at work in the same direction, is the Division of Information in the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalisation, whose scope implies, while not directly indicated by the text of the bill authorising the establishment of the Division, that the

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federal government appreciates for the first time the fact that the immigrants are the country's wards and as such must be warned against dangers, kept from exploitation, educated to become valuable citizens, and furnished with information as to where the most suitable labour is found, and, where desirable, must have practical help in getting away from the great overcrowded centres into the country, or other less crowded semi-urban districts. New York established in 1910 a bureau of Immigration in the Department of Labour, with a similar purpose of freeing aliens from exploitation and of assisting in their rapid Americanisation.

One of the difficulties in regard to the problem of immigration is that of estimating the saturation limit of our labour market and our institutions. Capital desires cheap labour. The labour unions desire to build up a high wage scale and a high standard of living. As long as there is a real demand for labour in excess of our population there is a real need for new labourers. But when this supply of labour fails to flow freely and becomes clotted in centres a local lowering of wage is the result. It is in the great centres, too, that many of the most insanitary conditions prevail. Notwithstanding the great revival of the past decade, the most important decade perhaps in our history, in which the cities are struggling self-consciously toward ideals of proper housing and adequate health provisions of every sort, only a beginning has been made in the process of socialisation by which each child shall be secured an education fitted to its needs in the modern world, a strong body untired by premature toil

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and a personal energy acquired through adequate self-expression in play; by which each woman shall be treasured in her double capacity as the bearer of the race and as a personality whose self-expression is important for the organic life of modern society; and by which each man shall be assured in his work of an income on which he and his family can not only survive but also prove assets to society, and shall also be immune from the exhausting and cruel fear of accident and old age, through the development of some form of social insurance, whether public, private, or a combination of both, against these ills.

Yet that such a programme has definitely emerged and is becoming daily more insistent is an astonishing thing in itself, even though the means taken for its furtherance are still elementary. While other communities have their importance in the development of the country, it is in the cities that the great test of the genuineness of our democracy is taking place and will take place. Democracy implies that poverty is not to be tolerated, every individual must have his chance to become a real person and add his strength to the life of the whole.

As we have seen, our great cities are now largely Irish, German, Jewish, Italian and Slavic, of the first or second generation. The problems of immigration are therefore almost co-extensive with the problem of the true democratisation of our city life.

We are not then so deeply concerned with the distinctive characteristics of each alien group, though that is important for a proper understanding of daily happenings and is useful in working out edu-

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cational plans, as we are with the changes that are taking place in the social environment to which these groups are being adjusted. With the life of the industrial family in its whole cycle of home, work, leisure, and participation in the larger life of politics, and other human relationships, the deepest hopes of all of us are intimately bound up.

CHAPTER II

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The industrial family in larger American cities lives for the most part in "tenements." The New York definition of a tenement house is one that is arranged to accommodate three housekeeping families. Whatever be the administrative measures in force in our large cities, the housing of working people has come within the last decade to be recognised as being a concern of the community as a whole. Fear of pestilence, and an understanding that unsanitary conditions produce enfeebled labourers, have combined with a real regard for the welfare of the most important group in the community, to ensure a permanent interest in proper housing, an interest now backed up by increasingly progressive legislation to keep from breakdown the standard which public opinion endorses. The constitutionality of the provisions of the New York tenement house law has been sustained by the courts point by point.¹ Measures that restrict the right of the in-

¹ In 1903 the so-called Moeschen case was instituted by the City of New York, to recover a penalty for violation of Section 100 of the Tenement House Act (that requiring the removal of school sinks). This case went through the various courts and finally to the United States Supreme Court, from which it was sent August 6th, 1907, to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. A decision was made by that court

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dividual to build on more than a certain proportion of his building site, that force him to use a certain grade of building material, that insist upon certain sanitary provisions, only a few years ago would have been considered as absurd.

These regulations have been declared constitutional on general grounds of public health. It is evident that as fast as there is a public opinion that perceives any measure to be in the interests of public health there will be no difficulty in getting legislation which will be sustained by the courts.

In the change that took place when the villages began to develop into cities and the drift of population from country to city became everywhere conspicuous,¹ there emerged the housing problem. Hitherto there had been numbers of unsanitary dwellings here and there. The "squatters" in New York, the blacks, and the poorer classes, lived in a more or less crowded way and with little provision for sanitation. But as long as there was plenty of room and plenty of light and air, conditions, though often bad and sometimes, as in the case of typhoid outbreaks, very dangerous, were yet plain and remediable. A risk was run, and not infrequently the community suffered from lack of supervision. But there was at least no developed system of building which automatically worked out unsatisfactorily.

The first serious aspect of bad housing was the overcrowding of old houses. Without any restric-

on September 5th, 1907. A detailed account of the case and the text of some of the decisions handed down during its trial will be found in the Third Report of the New York Tenement House Department (1906) on page 139.

¹ Adna Weber, "Growth of Cities."

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tions as to the number of partitions that could be put in, with no rules requiring ventilation or light, the old houses in the poor quarters soon came to be rookeries of the most frightful sort. Cellar occupancy was the worst feature in this overcrowding of the old houses. Without proper sewerage facilities, the dampness of the cellars into which water was constantly flowing and settling brought about fevers and rheumatism and produced an enfeebled condition, itself the mother of many ills. The dark interior bedrooms of the early period were numerous, though many of the older buildings were limited in this regard by the shallowness of the houses. At this period yard plumbing was general, the old privy vaults freezing in the winter, thawing in the spring and becoming a ready instrument for the spread of disease. Even when the vault was succeeded by the yard closet connected with the sewer, the infrequent flushings and the insufficiency of accommodations for the increasing number of tenants rendered these places most offensive and dangerous. The removal of these "school sinks," as they are called in New York is now completed.

As the immigrants kept pouring in and the cities were also growing by accretions from the rural districts, the old buildings, no matter how minutely subdivided, became manifestly totally inadequate to provide for the newcomers. The next step naturally was the use of the rest of the lot still free from buildings. This use took two forms, one the building over of practically the whole lot, leaving only a tiny yard in the rear — barracks, or the erection of rear dwellings with a small yard between front and

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rear building. In New York the evils of the housing of the industrial family were aggravated from the beginning by the size of the lot, 25 x 100 ft. The depth of the lot was an invitation to this style of construction. As time passed and land became more valuable, rents rose and it became increasingly profitable to cover as large a portion of the lot as possible and to replace the old three-story structures with higher buildings holding more families. At the same time the evil conditions under which people were living forced themselves upon the public attention through reports of the city sanitary inspectors and through the observations of private philanthropic societies. Cellar occupancy, insanitary plumbing, the dark rooms of the barracks, the hidden evils of the rear-tenement, overcrowding — bringing with it great fire risk, disease, and filth, — all made it impossible to avoid the emergence of a conscious desire to get rid of conditions that were so dangerous to the community as a whole. The erection of "model tenements" so-called, helped to further legislation looking towards the standardisation of dwelling regulations, though many of the earlier "model" dwellings are vastly inferior to later purely commercial dwellings.¹

It was in an architects' competition to design the most desirable and suitable tenement it was possible to construct that, by a strange irony, the so-called dumb-bell tenement carried off the prize in 1879. Its striking advantages in the way of accommodating large numbers of families, its claim to improve-

¹ For good early model buildings still really model, see the houses of Mr. Alfred T. White, in Brooklyn.

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ment on the older barracks that were built solidly from end to end, while the dumb-bell was supplied with an interior shaft nominally furnishing light and air, united in making the dumb-bell at once enormously popular. It became the prevailing type and with its spread the evils of housing in New York became fixed, and one might almost say systematised. Hitherto there had been all manner of varying insanitary and undesirable features — now they were cast in a mould and were automatically produced as each building went up.

In general, five stories in height, accommodating, when of the "double-decker" variety, eight families to the floor, each tenement contained about 200 persons and often more, due to the increasing custom of taking in lodgers.

The evils of the dumb-bell were first of all the "air-shaft" which, enclosed as it was on all four sides without intake of air at the bottom, and, in general, so narrow that families living opposite one another enjoyed no privacy, became simply a repository for filth, garbage and bad air, while the noise was intolerable and families, themselves clean, were often obliged to close their only windows in order to prevent the entrance of smells, sounds and vermin. As these shafts were very narrow, sometimes but three feet across, they became wells down which it was impossible for the light to penetrate. Of sunlight there was no question. The bedrooms and other rooms on the shaft, therefore, except on the top stories, were dark and airless. The dumb-bell covered so large a proportion of the lot (often 90 per cent.) that the plumbing was included within

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the building. Perhaps the most offensive arrangement was the cellar closets, dark, difficult to be kept clean, and remote from supervision,—manifestly a moral danger as well. Hall closets shared by several families were almost as bad. For such luxuries as bath-tubs there was no provision, it being generally supposed that working people preferred dirt to cleanliness and that bath-tubs if provided would be used for the proverbial coal, which indeed is not such an impractical idea where space is limited and coal and wood bins in the cellar are several stories removed from the stove.

The dumb-bell was so conspicuous a horror that it could not but attract adverse public attention. The old slums and rookeries seemed temporary and adventitious beside this apparently permanent evil. It became clear that no spasmodic cleaning up of occasionally perceived unhealthful conditions was sufficient. A definite public policy must be formed and a standard of housing established which should not so much do away with one or the other of these many evils, but which should set up a positive standard of space, safety, light and air, which it would be an intolerable disgrace to see lowered or vitiated.

In Chicago, where the wooden ramshackle dwelling is the type, in Boston with its altered old buildings, in Pittsburgh with its neglected shanties and rookeries, in all large centres, a self-consciousness has arisen in regard to dwellings, and a standard of housing is emerging. This standard is by no means fixed. It varies in different communities in proportion not always to existing evils, but rather in proportion to an aroused social conscience on this

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matter. There is also a progressive standard in those communities that have reached the standardisation stage. In New York, where we used to say light is necessary, we now try to insist on sunlight — partly because we have learned how important sunlight is in killing the germs of our most dreaded social disease, tuberculosis, and partly because there is a widening of our sympathies and decent instincts that demand for others what we find essential for ourselves, and which resents the claim for one group of privileges and humanities not open to all. This is, if you please, a sentiment, but it is a growing one. It is a plane of living to which the present is beginning to adjust itself. We are not only saying sunlight is necessary, but also that air, decency, privacy, and opportunities for cleanliness shall be offered to all. The space element in the housing standard is the most difficult to establish. For overcrowding is due first to high rents, which are a corollary of city land values, and secondly to the expense and time involved in living far from one's work. The removal of congestion is therefore not primarily a by-product of the housing problem, but rather a question of rapid transit, of living near one's work, of social control, and of land values in and near large cities. It is possible to define the number of persons who may live on a given area and then make the buildings correspond to the limit set. It may be this is not the form that the space element in the housing standard will assume. But that there must be elbow room, so that the excitement, nervous tension and indecency of living packed together may be lessened, if not eliminated, is becoming a part of

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that implicit social program as yet largely unvoiced in political platforms, but nevertheless becoming unconsciously an integral part of a growing social purpose.

The tenement is not the only dwelling of the industrial family. More pretentious tenements are styled apartments, often distinguished from their humbler associates by a more elaborate doorway, perhaps by a stair carpet, sometimes by a dumb-waiter, and often by an elevator.

This style of house flourishes in newer districts and is sought after by ambitious rising families. On the other hand, the "furnished room" is the home of a group of quite a different character; often occupied by single persons, frequently resorted to on eviction from a tenement for non-payment of rent (as rent for a furnished room is paid by the week or even day, while rent for a tenement must be paid in advance for a month or half month), the furnished room is the home of the shiftless, the shipwrecked, the despondent, although often it is used to tide over a brief interval until the normal house-keeping life of the tenement is resumed.

The two family house of suburban development is the home of the most well-to-do of industrial families. In these houses practically as much privacy and as favorable conditions of every sort are to be had as are obtainable in single houses. Philadelphia and Baltimore are fortunate in having had a development of this style of building, which has saved those cities from certain of the most serious of the ills that housing in New York has suffered. The great mass of working people in New York live

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neither in the two family house nor in furnished rooms. They live in tenements. The three room apartment is the type for the average five-person family, or $1\frac{2}{3}$ persons a room. Overcrowding is of course measured by an arbitrary definition. Mrs. More in *Wage Earners' Budgets* calls over 2 per room overcrowding, while Chapin in the *Standard of Living* sets an upper limit of $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room. Overcrowding in this case is the normal fate of the industrial family in New York.

While it is true that a certain standard in regard to housing is appearing in every large city, it would be idle to deny that the proper housing of the largest part of our population is still a dream rather than a reality. The alteration of old buildings is slow, insanitary plumbing gives way to modern types only after endless delays, the right to order vacated thoroughly insanitary dwellings and rooms is used but sparingly, the administrative machinery of the departments charged with effecting improvements is hampered either by inefficiency or by lack of proper funds or by both. The city's law departments are so burdened with cases that judgments are secured only after long delays. Opposition to adequate housing regulations comes from builders, from real estate owners and others interested. In all this there is nothing unnatural. A constant fight must be expected to keep the ground gained, as well as to make further headway. The important thing to observe is that the evils of bad housing are now generally recognised, that some attempt is being made to improve conditions, and that this improvement is being increasingly measured by a human

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standard of desirability rather than by a standard based on net profits.

The combination of "philanthropy and 5 per cent." offered by building companies is sound to this extent, that houses must bring in a certain profit, and that this profit should be measured by the average returns from investment on the one side and the standard of decency and comfort set by public opinion on the other. To expect more than this low average rate of interest is inimical to good housing. As it is clear that the individual investor would need a higher rate of interest to insure him against individual risk, it is probable that with lower returns profit can be secured most favourably by large companies whose mode of operation involves the element of risk far less than is the case with the individual builder.

With this brief summary of the changes¹ that have taken place in the development of the housing of the industrial family, let us turn to that family itself, and asked what is its direct relation to the dwellings which it calls "home." Here we find a different emphasis, a difference in values, with which it is worth while to become acquainted. Respectability demands a "parlour" or "front room."² Living may be conducted for the most part in the

¹ The provision of sanitary dwellings for workmen by large industrial employers has not been touched upon here. Readers will find U. S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin No. 54 enlightening on this aspect of the subject. The work of Building and Loan Associations is described in U. S. Bulletin No. 10 (U. S. Bureau of Labor).

² Mr. Robert Woods says it is "the insistence on the parlour that marks a rise from one class to another. It is the dividing line."

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kitchen, but the parlour indicates the emergence of a differentiated existence and with it an ideal of leisure. It may be that the simplest people, the newly-arrived immigrants, do not feel this need. And it may be that culture and wide experience are indifferent to the "parlour" and can find in one room space enough for all ideals. But the simplicity of ignorance of need and the simplicity of indifference to purely external standards are two very different things. One is at the beginning, the other at the end of a long chain of experiences. The emphasis on the parlour is an intermediate stage not to be despised by the crude as an affectation, nor by the sophisticated as philistine. We learn to discard rather than to do without. As a matter of fact the mental attitude demanding the parlour, in so far as it indicates the need for beauty, for leisure, for self-expression in the higher moods, is fine and is shared by all persons of aspiration. In so far as it is the depository for strange ornament and unmeaning isolation from the rest of the family existence, it is no more garish in the tenement than it is in many more prosperous homes. Good styles are becoming commercialised rapidly. The hope of the tenement parlour lies in the conversion of the furniture buyers of great stores to simplicity in design. The need of the parlour to get a sense of room, of leisure and of a social life that reaches out from the home to the neighbourhood, is evident. The mother gets a sense of dignity in the parlour, which is hard to feel in the kitchen. There, the young daughter is conscious of a refinement in courtship that the door-way or the darkened moving picture show does

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not afford. On the parlour wall, hang the marriage certificate, the first communion card and the enlarged photograph of father and mother when married. The parlour, in fact, is the repository of the family experience as a whole. The family recognises itself in the parlour. It is above water, and safe from the threatening disintegration of a more limited economy.

Tenement houses erected purely on sanitary lines without regard to the aesthetic demands of the tenants are a failure. What seems so unimportant to those whose aestheticism has moved on to another plane exists as a powerful factor in this stage. To enter from the hallway door directly into the kitchen, to have to go through the kitchen to the "parlour," more than counterbalances any extra increment of light, air and space that such an arrangement might provide. A toilet directly off the parlour¹ is manifestly undesirable, even though this alteration may secure better ventilation with its direct access to out-door air. Conveniences from the housekeeper's point of view, closet room, set tubs, a fresh coat of paint, will often attract tenants, even when accompanied by a dark bedroom, in preference to all light rooms with a lack of such conveniences. A showy doorway that appears to indicate the presence of a higher class of tenant with larger incomes may decide a hesitating tenant where very substantial advantages in the way of light and air may have been the alternative. The preferences of the tenants, therefore, can not be taken as absolutely indicative

¹ Such alterations were often made in pursuance of the requirements of the New York Tenement House Law of 1901.

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of what a tenement should be. Nor can a standard be established by others than the tenants without an understanding of the social and aesthetic demands of the tenants. Housing reformers will properly insist on those sanitary features which are essential, light, air, cleanliness and space. But the tenant has an equal right to the furnishing of those amenities which appeal to him with all the strength of his ideals and aspirations. It takes a very specialised taste to prefer the bareness of the hospital or the convent to the comfort of home. The former may be appreciated by contrast as a relief from the complexity of average home life, but the average man wants the satisfaction of his own ideas, rather than to suit the point of view of anybody else, no matter how worthy, how sanitary, or how progressive that other point of view may be. The vulgarity, as it would be called by many, of the desire for a certain kind of show in preference to more solid advantages is one of the corollaries of a dynamic society with its rapid rise of classes. Such vulgarity is only an eddy in the big pool of imitation. Without it, indeed, we might have a picturesque class of contented workmen living in sanitary dwellings and submitting to carbon copies of the old masters, "art" furniture, classical music and a vegetarian diet. But what some people call vulgar, let us recognise as healthy and progressive. The parlour set purchased at the department store, the phonograph, the coloured chromo, the meaningless bric-a-brac, the bright oilcloth, the unshaded light, are not a whit more hideous than their more expensive counter-

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parts. They will disappear as good taste in decoration becomes thoroughly commercialised.

Taking into account all the improvements that have been secured by model housing, and more notably by legislation, the American workman is not yet by any means properly housed. The disappearance of the slum is practically assured. Its dangers are too vividly portrayed and understood not to have the element of fear lead to practical action. And yet the small city slum, the rural slum, the slum in remote districts just becoming industrial centres, still exist. The health departments of the great city can be said on the whole to understand their job. But unattached, separated spots in smaller places are neglected. Local pressure is not high enough to accomplish anything thoroughly. The necessity is evinced increasingly for a larger social control of communities feeble in administration.

In the large cities it is not the lack of administrative effort that is conspicuous, but rather the extreme difficulty of providing proper dwellings where land is so enormously valuable. The high price of land means high buildings and high rentals. High buildings denote congested neighbourhoods, which mean noise, insufficient sleep, vitiated air and the debility resulting from these evils. The future of these congested neighbourhoods is dark. For no advantages of an educational sort can compensate for a lowered vitality. It is true that, owing to proper precautions, the health departments of the big cities show a decrease in death rates that makes the city compare favourably with the country. But

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this does not more than touch the question of impaired soundness of life. This generation has to see to it not only that the death rate is low, but that the conditions of life are such that the succeeding generation will not start handicapped. If the congestion of old city neighbourhoods can be only alleviated, not removed, there is at least no excuse for the repetition of these conditions in outlying districts.¹ The example of foreign cities, where this need has been intelligently perceived and met, indicates that building zones or districts should be established, varying in density limitations according to the distance from the centre, or in some other way corresponding to local needs.² By this plan artificial restrictions are placed upon the growth of population within a given area. This aspect of housing — its relation to a standard of density — has never been seriously considered in this country. Its only aspect, registered in law, the requirement of so many cubic feet of air space for each dweller, is easily evaded, and is practically a dead letter.

The evils of overcrowding cannot be said to have been fully met by the great New York tenement house act of 1900, the most advanced step taken by any legislative body in this country in regard to housing. Evils can be attacked on the flank by the development of rapid transit facilities and by the removal from the city of certain kinds of industries, but they must also be met as many are begin-

¹ See "City Planning Progress," edited by George B. Ford.

² New York City has appointed a City Plan Committee which is reporting favorably for the establishment of building zones restricting the use of districts.

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ning to be convinced, by a direct reduction in density of certain areas by a limit set on the height of buildings.¹ This limit should not be a flat rate, thus precluding any adjustment to varying size of lot or neighbouring structure, although in developing districts a flat height might be possible.

The improvements that are coming into vogue in the industrial family's dwellings, apart from the most important elements of fireproofing, adequate light, air, and sanitary plumbing, are improved lighting, heating, storage facilities, bathing and washing facilities, the more extended use of roofs, and the provision for keeping ice.

Individual lighting by kerosene is giving way to the use of gas by quarter metre or otherwise; heating is still done largely by coal stoves in winter, though the gas range in summer is fast coming into use to displace the highly dangerous oil stoves. Central heating is to be found only in the more expensive flats. The variation in temperature between kitchen, parlour and hallway, caused by individual heating is perhaps responsible for a certain amount of illness. Closet room is always insufficient where space is in any case so limited, and basement storage is inconvenient, but in so far as these facilities can be had at all they are being included. Bath-tubs are being introduced gradually and set tubs are being included as a matter of course. Space for ice-boxes is beginning to be considered a necessity, as it should be, especially for the keeping of babies'

¹The case of *Welch vs. Swasey* decided by the Supreme Court of Mass. in favor of the height districts of Boston was affirmed some years ago by the United States Supreme Court.

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milk in hot weather. The use of roofs for sleeping and for recreation is checked by the number of vent-pipes, etc., which occupy the roof, by the lack of awning, and of easy supervision. The mother would far rather trust her child to the danger of the street, which she can overlook, than to the pleasanter and roomier roof, so far from her watchful eye. The individual roof is difficult to develop for social usefulness. A group of roofs, however, a block, for example, if constructed with this purpose in mind, could be so used advantageously, if provision for supervision could be made.

In considering the workingman's own point of view in regard to his home, we must, finally, not fail to observe that his interest is necessarily of an entirely different sort from that of those who can own their homes. The tenant looks to the landlord for every improvement. Dissatisfied with his accommodations, he removes to another tenement. Never feeling sure of a long stay in any one apartment, he fails to feel that attachment which results through personal possession. The education that comes from the pride of ownership is missed by the tenant. The owner guards his property from destruction, develops through self-protection neatness and order, and loves to beautify his home. To the tenant this opportunity of self-expression is lacking. The depreciation that takes place due to destruction or misuse of tenants is of course counted into the cost of maintenance and recouped from the rentals, but, as this takes place on general principles rather than in individual cases, it escapes the attention of the tenant and does not act as a deter-

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rent. The possibilities of ownership, even through any such plan as the German one of the State's advancing capital to groups,¹ thereby enabling co-operative building and ownership to take place, are slight in America. For the constant changing of occupation and the consequent instability of residence precludes the probability of a strong desire on the part of considerable numbers of people to take up responsibilities which will tie them down from moving when it seems advantageous to do so.

In the case of the tenement the disadvantages of ownership are heightened by the disinclination of any tenant to place himself in a position where it would be impossible or difficult to disassociate himself from other tenants who might prove obnoxious.

The tenant not only feels very little responsibility, but as a matter of fact he has little. In New York, although eviction of tenants is always possible, this is the only redress that landlords have, for by the law the entire responsibility for the condition of the house is placed upon the landlord, where it belongs from an administrative point of view.

As the tenant has no option in the matter of improvements, selection of janitor, choice of other tenants, and cannot in fact do anything but accept or reject the terms offered for tenancy, the responsibility manifestly belongs with the landlord. The character of the landlord, therefore, becomes of the greatest importance to the tenant. An interesting landlord can modify conditions and can give the tenant a feeling of interest which, if not as valuable as that of ownership, comes next best to it. An

¹ In Germany advanced from the insurance fund.

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agent generally acts for the landlord, and his attitude is of like importance, while most important of all is the janitor or "housekeeper." If the apartment is of the steamheated variety the janitor is a man, otherwise a woman. Her influence is very great and, depending largely upon her neatness, authority, character and ability, the house earns its reputation for a good or bad class of tenants. She is the criterion by which the house is rated, and in fact the house is generally called by her name in the neighbourhood rather than by its street number. The housekeeper is the educator of her tenants.

To sum up, in general then we may say that the housing of the industrial family in cities is improving. Certain elementary health tests are being applied and houses not conforming to this standard cannot be built in the future and old ones are being remodelled. Public opinion is demanding a progressive standard, discontented with the level which we have already reached. The tenants' own wishes, habits and hopes are being considered more circumstantially than hitherto. The very serious evil of overcrowding is being attacked consciously by a flank movement involving the adoption of a rational city plan.

But while a minimum standard of decent housing is emerging, the most serious element in the housing problem remains,—its relation to the problem of poverty and the wage of the tenant. The very poor will not be able to pay the rent of these sanitary apartments, and if nothing but sanitary apartments are allowed, overcrowding will result. If it should be possible to prevent this kind of overcrowd-

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ing by a more adequate inspection, the only alternative would be that such families would become a public charge. This might be far better than that such families should remain in the competitive industrial world as parasites dragging down their more successful fellow strugglers.

CHAPTER III

STANDARD OF LIVING

My boy came up from the barn one day to tell me about a new raft that he and his little friend had been making. With the unsophisticated logic of boyhood he replied, on inquiry as to whose raft it was, "It belongs to us both, for Paul got the lumber and I did the work!" Joint ownership in this case was simply a joint joy. It involved no transmutation in terms of wages or profits. But in the larger, or at any rate bulkier, life of grown up workers, the reward for capital and the reward for labour is by no means a joint and spiritually equal good. For the boy who owns the lumber lives on quite a different plane from the boy who does the work — we say that he has different tastes, desires, that his standard of living is quite other than that of the workers. He who possesses the lumber can eat better meals, live in a better house, wear better clothes and enjoy more leisure than he who does the work. He may deserve it — he may have run great risks chopping down the trees. He may have lain awake nights thinking how he was going to get them out of the forest, or on the contrary, somebody may have given him the lumber or left it to him in his will. At any rate, the standard of living of these two is not only different, but so very different that

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it becomes a concern to the raft consumers as to how the workers live. For the rafts depend for their solidity as much upon the worker as upon the wood. As it becomes clear that quality of work is dependent upon intelligence and training, and that these involve a long schooling and freedom from early entrance into industry, we appreciate more deeply that these advantages cannot be gained unless two things take place; unless wages are high enough to assure those comforts without which the worker cannot contribute his quota to the whole, and second unless a certain standard of living is insisted upon by the community quite regardless of wages.

There are two essentials upon which every one who sincerely desires a dynamic, progressive, democratic state insists — wages that will admit of such a standard of life that the worker can contribute his best to the whole, and a mode of life that is satisfactory to the community, apart from the consideration of wages. What decides the wage most largely is, of course, supply and demand, modified indeed by custom, by publicity, by combination.

But the newly aroused public opinion is especially active in the improvement of living conditions that make for a higher standard of life for all, irrespective of wages, the consideration of fixing which the public is still loath to undertake.

The reasons for this contemporary emphasis on these social reform measures, as they may be called, are of the deepest interest. They are two fold. First the obvious increase in genuine social concern. The passion that has hitherto so largely gone

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into commerce and all forms of material enterprise is beginning to manifest itself in other fields. The last decade has witnessed not only a revival of spiritual forces but really a new epoch in American life, partly due to the world-wide awakening to the consciousness of our common lot, but more specifically to our own economic development. The extraordinary growth of our industries and the resultant power of capital have brought into sharp relief the different lots of rich and poor. Early American days witnessed a practically undifferentiated economic status. We are not unaware of the pomp of colonial officials or of the extreme poverty with which it often co-existed, yet for all this there was an open field for all competitors, as our natural resources were virgin and undeveloped. This common struggle produced a kind of rough equality, or at least a potential equality. Such differences as existed,—and they were marked,—were rather those of intellectual or official, than economic, status. Thus the New England minister had a position of authority and power that money could not give, but with the use of our natural resources and the development of capital that became so marked after recovery from the Civil War, values changed.

Power no longer was obtained through exercise of religious authority, nor through the social pressure of a great name nor through the prestige gained by a university education. Power came through wealth, which in its turn may provide education or luxury and thus become the readiest way to the enjoyment of life. With the disappearance of much that was fine, much that was false in the older conceptions

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disappeared also. The smallness of certain aristocratic pretensions was swept away. With the growth of wealth and the sense of power, a sort of expansion, extravagance and waste took place that can, according to one's point of view, be classed as vulgar, or as vastly hopeful, if one can discern in it a new kind of soil from which new virtues may spring. What California does for its fruits and flowers, wealth has done for the new life that is now expanding before our eyes. We are dissatisfied with the picayune. Nothing but the biggest and most perfect fruits will answer. If we must have the best steam yachts and the largest number of automobiles, if we must have country seats and grand opera, we must also have the finest hospitals, the best schools, the purest water supplies, the cleanest streets, the least tuberculosis in the world. Nothing is too good for us. Shall the old world get ahead of us in our social improvements any more than in our threshing machines? If we can buy old masters we are beginning to want to paint them! The thirst to excel is with us and this eagerness to try our power has extended to the field of raising the standard of living among the masses.

The process of raising the standard is of course complex.

In the first place our extraordinary prosperity is due to the working of our national resources. A virgin continent open to all precluded the possibility of the rise of poverty during a limited period, until the growth of capital and its consolidation gave an economic advantage to a group. It was not till the disappearance of free, or easily acquired land, that

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the pressure began to be felt. Second, as a by-product of our prosperity, and especially through the growth of transportation facilities, a larger range of commodities for popular consumption has appeared on the market and these have become a part of the staple wants of the community. A variety in diet has been one of the most important results.

Third, the pressure of trade unions has helped to raise the standard.

The United States as a matter of fact has been able to continue its policy of protection only because of the claim that such a policy resulted in a better standard of life for the American workingman.

We have then a common conviction, extending through all classes, that the American standard must be maintained. Here and there may exist a belief that the working class should labour for the benefit of the advantaged classes from whom alone the flower of life is to be expected,¹ but this belief is so foreign to the American consciousness that it dare not come to open expression. Its dangerous and anti-democratic character will not allow this doctrine, secretly cherished by many, to live in the open. The democratic point of view is still the only decent one for Americans openly to avow and it is still, we may believe, the dominant theory of social belief and practice, notwithstanding the great changes that have taken place with the growth of privilege.

The essential soundness of American ideals is indicated in the growth of social legislation during the

¹ See Harrington's views in "Justice and Liberty," by G. Lowes Dickinson, p. 60 *et al.*

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past decade. This legislation has not been the unaided work of the classes directly affected by it. On the contrary, strenuous and successful as has been the work of the unions in putting through legislation for the benefit of the working classes, equally valuable help has come from totally other sources, where class interest has not been the prime motive.

The value of social legislation depends upon two elements, its regard for facts and its correlation with the public opinion of the period. Too often legislation has been secured that became a dead letter at once, owing to its being unenforceable through lack of public support. The massing of careful evidence in support of the need of legislation is of prime importance. We see, then, that the development of the social conscience, determined to raise the standard of living and to guard the ground gained with as watchful eye as ever government guarded its new colonial possessions, is due to a complex of causes and to the contagion of conviction that is possible only in the modern world of a free interchange of opinions.

To all these influences at work to keep the standard from falling and to help in its rise there may be indicated the opposing forces which we may roughly sum up as unrestricted immigration, the congestion of great cities and the opposition to the organisation of the working classes.

To develop our natural resources, to introduce new industries, to become a self-sufficient power, a supply of labour was necessary that our sparse population could not provide. From an economic point of view the immigration question is one of pro-

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duction saturation alone. But we do not deal with immigration as an economic phenomenon alone. We still respect the sentiment that desires America to be the asylum for the oppressed. Combined with this natural and sympathetic point of view we have unfortunately shown our ignorance and incapacity by allowing new arrivals to remain in great cities without developing any intelligent plan for the rational distribution of immigrants to labour markets where they can command a decent wage. And in addition to this incapacity or indifference is the wickedness of attempting to down all attempts on the part of the aliens, whom we have sentimentally welcomed, to better their lot by organising for their own protection and benefit.

The stream of immigration will continue to be useful to us as a nation, if used to build up new communities and new industries, if it is not allowed to congest great centres where the labour market is already glutted and if it is allowed to combine for its own advance. These two conditions, the elimination of city congestion and freedom to organise, are essential if we are not to produce a debased industrial class with a lowered standard of living.

What are the present indications as to the outcome between the forces making for a higher standard and those making for a lower standard?

We must ask ourselves what is the likelihood that a standard can be maintained which will allow for the development of every one in the community so that he can be classed as a social asset. What is the likelihood of bringing about a steady improvement in housing, public health, public education, op-

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portunities for recreation and leisure, and ability to procure adequate shelter, food and clothing?

The standard of good shelter is unquestionably advancing. It will soon be impossible for communities to tolerate a slum. The old rookeries, the rotten plumbing, the dark bedrooms, cellar occupancy, will not only be legislated out of existence, but, so convinced is public opinion on this point, that the owner of such properties is held for responsibility irrespective of the habits of his tenants. Social legislation in regard to questions of public health rides rough shod over the niceties of personal responsibility and goes with a sort of crude justice directly to the owner with all its complaints.

The extraordinary powers of American health authorities show how quickly and how powerfully we can act, when once we get the point. The elimination of preventable diseases through the development of public hygiene and the enlargement of social powers in this field is equally striking. The socialisation of our water supplies, the increasing social control of the milk supply, the forcible removal of contagious cases from the home to places where social supervision is more effective and possible, are instances of what we can do when once we are convinced. Free medical service is on the increase. In matters of education we are also more alive than we were a decade ago. We see the relation of education to livelihood far more realistically than we did. The need for industrial and technical training, the emphasis on the development of creative skill and the power of observation, the insistence upon the close connection between everyday life and a real educa-

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tion, the education of the "whole man," as we now everywhere say, is putting to rout the former cultural educational system that had allowed itself to decline from its old high estate of creating cultivated persons to a plan for educating clerks.

The new education, seen in the development of agricultural schools, technical schools, the development of industrial training, if properly understood will not lead to a class education but rather will be a new mode of educating all. But vocational training, especially, though only a side issue in the larger whole, will be another popular and socialised means for raising the standard, for we may expect that all such training will be free, i. e. that it will be borne by the community as a whole and that a proper system of taxation will see to it that the burden of these new opportunities does not fall upon the classes least able to bear it.

Public provision for recreation is also becoming a part of the social programme enlisted in raising the standard of living. Provision for parks, for playgrounds, for band concerts, for public lectures, for free libraries, for cheap theatres, for cheap rapid transit to cheap amusement resorts, are all increasing. We may then say that the American standard is in process of becoming secure on the three great sides of public health, public education and public recreation.

Let us now turn to the other aspect of the question. What about the ability of the individual to secure for himself and his family these social goods? If every house is sanitary, the rent must still be paid, and if the wages are low, only a few rooms can be

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secured. We may then anticipate among the lowest wage earners an overcrowding down to or below the legal limit. If wages will not allow payment of rental the family becomes a public charge, either directly, or indirectly through private charitable help. To be sure, the State may insist on adequate housing of the dependent in public alms houses, but we cannot then say, except in the most formal sense, that the standard is being maintained.

So also it is true that milk may all become pure and fresh and relatively germ free, but if a woman cannot afford to buy it for her children (and pure milk is bound to be more expensive than dirty milk), the maintenance of the standard of public health in this regard is not an appreciable benefit to one who cannot secure it. Again it may be that to the poor free milk will be given, but this is maintaining not the standard of living of the American industrial family, but rather a standard of public health for dependents.

Doubtless this in any case is an advantage. It is better to have pure milk, no matter if a large number of people cannot afford to buy it. For in that case we know where we stand. None but pure milk can be tolerated. If families cannot afford it, they then become to that extent dependent upon public support. For this is not creating a dependent class, but simply discovering it.

Thus, too, vocational training may be free, but families that are at the bottom of the industrial scale cannot afford to allow their children to take it when they could be earning even a small wage, unless indeed the age at which children are allowed to leave

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school be raised, in which case again a group of families would emerge that would doubtless become dependent on public support.

It is not to be doubted that in these two cases of public health and public education it would prove socially more economical to raise the standard, even though public dependence seemed thereby to be greater. This dependence would in fact be discoverable in that case at a stage where remedial measures could be put into motion far more adequately than after the damage had taken place, that is, subsequent to disease and ignorance. In case of measures for public recreation the insistence cannot be so marked, though it is no less necessary. During school years it can be as compulsory as education itself. Proper provision for school playgrounds, the lengthening of the school day to include recreation and its supervision, the increased use of the schoolhouses for social purposes, all tend to make recreation a part of the regular equipment of the educational process. The library, the free concert, the park, are open to all, but outside of these socialised forms of recreation the industrial families living on the smallest incomes are living without any of the forms of amusement that make for the natural enlargement of life. Only the cheapest theatres are available, and transportation facilities are prohibitive for many who would like occasionally to take a short outing at a neighbouring park or amusement resort. Reference to all recent budgets shows how meagre is the margin that the industrial family can allow itself for other pleasures than those that may be inherent in work and in family life. It is

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just that margin that needs widening. Of course the more recreation is socialised, the less necessary it is from one point of view to earn a wage sufficient to secure pleasures that involve individual expenditure. Note again that it is not the socialisation of recreation with which we are to find fault, but rather the difficulty in rendering these growing opportunities available. The standard of comfort can never be divorced from the question of wages. When once it is seen by the public, more and more determined in its purpose to maintain a high standard, that such a standard cannot be rendered really effective or available unless wages are high and a certain degree of leisure is assured, it is inconceivable that antagonism to organisations receiving these necessities will survive among the great body of consumers.

Of course, many measures for the improvement of living conditions are a virtual admission that injustice is taking place, for which one desires in some degree to make recompense. Working people, resenting philanthropic measures for their betterment, naturally prefer to pay their own way in the world and stand on their own feet. There thus arises an antagonism between the industrial classes who want only whatever socialisation they can themselves secure, but who are suspicious of any gifts in the way of socialised goods that may come from any other quarter. This desire for independence is so valuable a quality that it cannot be broken down without serious social loss.

Undoubtedly one of the reasons why contemporary practice favours the socialisation process from above rather than the struggle for higher wages

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and more leisure, by which advantages can be independently secured, is that the former method is by far the easier path. It raises no issues and it offers an opportunity for benevolence in this intermediate period when great fortunes have been amassed and are amassing before society has become ready to redistribute wealth through improved methods of taxation. Even though every house be light and sanitary, and every food stuff pure and every milk bottle a fountain of cleanliness, and every school be equipped with a playground, the rent must be paid, food bought, clothing secured, fuel purchased, and insurance met. These great items all come out of wages. If there is little money for rent, overcrowding or dependence ensues. If there is little money for food, insufficient nourishment claims its victims far more resistlessly than any disease. If clothing is not purchasable, inferior forms of employment must be resorted to and a generally lower social and economic status will result. If fuel fails, the body is weakened and rendered an easy prey to disease. If insurance cannot be paid, the day comes when disease, accident, or death will claim its own without the power of resuscitating the family fortune.

Our census figures unfortunately have been so incomparable from decade to decade as to give little accurate information on the relation of wages to consumption. We know what prices are from time to time. We know what wages are here and there, but a standard of living curve, showing the consumption of the working classes and its relation to wages, is not obtainable. The work of Le Play, of

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Engel, of Booth, have until very recently found no counterpart in America. The Massachusetts Labour Report for 1875, by Carroll D. Wright, and in 1890 the United States Labour Bureau report initiated the compilation of facts about the expenditures of working families. These studies were extensive in character with little attention to detail. Booth's and Rowntree's intensive studies of English budgets were followed by a United States Labour Bulletin in May, 1906, where Dr. Forman presented the account books of 19 families. Two important studies made in this country, the Wage Earner's Budgets by Mrs. Louise B. More and the *Standard of Living* by Robert C. Chapin, have been followed by budgetary reports of private associations and State Commissions, which are beginning to familiarise the American public with the unwelcome facts about the actual want that is common to our industrial communities. The first of these studies was made by a resident of Greenwich House, already largely and deeply acquainted with families of this New York neighbourhood. This leverage of already existing acquaintance enabled Mrs. More to make an unusual study. Its personal character and the fact that practically one person did the whole work during the two years' study give the book a note of intimate understanding hard or impossible to get from a study of schedules, no matter how minute, furnished by many agents. The book is, however, a neighbourhood study and has the limitations that come from a study of a single section. On the other hand the neighbourhood is a very heterogeneous district with no particular racial or industrial stamp and may

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therefore be said to be fairly representative of the City of New York as a whole. Mr. Chapin's study is the report of an investigation begun under the auspices of a special committee of the 8th New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections. While Mrs. More's study included but 200 families Mr. Chapin presents the budgets of 391 families. Mrs. More's has a certain intensive advantage, Mr. Chapin's has a wider basis for deduction. The figures presented by Mr. Chapin (Appendix II) indicative of receipts and expenditures of families living outside a congested area are particularly valuable and suggestive of the desirability of a wider intensive study that will cover not only the somewhat special conditions of New York City, but will indicate the situation as it may be found in smaller centres throughout the country.

Prices have continued to rise till we must say that from \$1000 to \$1200 a year must be earned to maintain decently the American city-working family.

Below \$500 very marked want exists. Rowntree estimates that in a minimum standard necessary to maintain merely physical efficiency in York, England, 58.8 per cent. of the income must be spent for food. In the group cited by Mrs. More of similar income only 44.2 per cent. is spent for food, while in the lowest income group given by Mr. Chapin (\$400-\$499) 40.8 per cent. of the income is expended for food. Booth cites 30 London families with an average income of \$315.12 where 55.6 per cent. is spent for food. It is clear that under-nourishment takes place in all our income groups below the \$800 group. It is plain that the heavy burden of rent on the lower

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wage groups takes away from the amount that should go to food. In the table ¹ given by Chapin, showing the percentage of total annual expenditure for the various budget items in 9 cities and towns other than New York in income groups from \$600 to \$800, the rent item ranks from 6.8 per cent. to 19.9 as against 23.6 per cent. cited for a similar New York group. This allows of over 50 per cent. to go to food in many cases, while furniture, recreation and miscellaneous items all have more leeway.

It may be said that while rent, clothing and fuel may remain practically stationary or possibly rise, it is highly likely that the amount devoted to food will diminish, as we cease to eat so much meat and as we learn how to cook in general less expensively. It may be that food revolutions will take place, but it is certainly not safe to bank on any of them at this time or to argue from them for any future in sight. What seems to be clear from the most modern studies is that "in general, when less than 22 cents per man per day is spent for food the nourishment derived is insufficient, and when more than 22 cents per man per day is expended the family is well nourished."² Reckoning five to a family, we see that the general opinion of mothers of families quoted by Mrs. More that \$7 a week is necessary for food is a very close estimate. The fact is that extravagance in diet does not exist to any marked extent among the lowest income groups. It is in the classes immediately above the \$1000 limit where waste is more conspicuous.

The diet of the low income groups is in fact quali-

¹ Table 129, p. 275.

² Chapin, p. 280.

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tatively very good. Unspoiled by contact with the American candy shop, it would be adequate if it were quantitatively increased. One eminent Italian doctor attributes the rickets of Italian children to the substitution of white for black bread. The Italian soup, black bread, vegetables, fruits and cheese make a good combination. The Jews eat meat, fish, bread, pickles, fruit. The Germans are notably good housekeepers. The Irish diet is most open to criticism, with its emphasis on tea and white bread and potatoes. It is a good thing to teach people how to cook and how to save, but it is clear, from an examination of the budgets presented to us by Mrs. More and Chapin taken in connection with the dietary study of Underhill,¹ that what is needed where the total receipts are below \$1000 is not so much training in domestic economy as higher wages.

The percentage of expenditure for clothing increases as the income increases. This undoubtedly means that style and a good appearance are necessary to keep good positions. It is difficult to see where it would be possible to cut down expenditure without serious disadvantage. Rent can be cut down by over-crowding, clothing by seeking less advantageous employment, food at the cost of health, insurance at the increase of anxiety and dread for the future.

And with rising prices the lowering of the wage becomes more menacing. If then the American standard of living must be kept high, the strengthening of organisations whose function is to raise wages is a social necessity.

¹ Appendix III, Chapin.

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To sum up, we have attempted to show that the American public is intent upon maintaining the American standard of living, both through motives of democratic conviction,¹ and through desire to excel. We have seen that, due to the existence of the struggle between employer and employed, the consideration of the maintenance of a high wages standard has been relatively neglected in favour of a policy of socialisation which will indirectly secure to workers social and economic benefits. We have also shown that this process of improvement of living conditions through legislation and various educational and public health measures can never accomplish the purpose for which this process is intended without due attention to the maintenance of wages, and therefore to the protection and support of an intelligent organisation of the working class. And we have endeavoured to give some practical point to these conclusions by showing that the latest and most accurate and scientific study of workingmen's budgets indicate that from \$1000 to \$1200 is the income that the city family must secure in order to maintain the American standard of living. The untold thousands who fall below this line indicate the magnitude of the problem that still waits for solution.

¹ A noteworthy illustration of public interest in the standard of living was the report of the sub-section of the committee of this name at the National Convention of Charities held in Cleveland, June, 1912; *q.v.*

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

Autocracy has always feared free education. It is not possible to conceive of democracy without free education for all. Of the two elements essential for democracy, education and industrial opportunity, education is far the more important, for while free education involves opportunity, opportunity without it is bound to collapse. Popular education is America's chief pride and it is a just theme for self-congratulation. But while public school systems are maintained by taxation and while higher schools and colleges have either been supplied by the States or by private benevolence, so that education in any field in many States may be said to be furnished at slight or no expense, the fact is not clearly enough appreciated that, to the largest part of our ever-growing city population, these opportunities are only available for the years when they are compulsory. And this is but six to eight years at most, for at the age of 14 the children of the industrial family in general go to work,¹ though a very large number are at work under the age of 14. It is also true that many children go to school before they are 7. With almost one million children from 10 to 14 years of age at work as breadwinners,¹ and

¹ Occupations Volume, U. S. Census Report, 1910, pp. 71, 73.

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with the great variation in the compulsory education requirements of the various States, no general statement of the school period of the children of the industrial family is possible. For Boston, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, it is true, however, that 6 to 7 years sums up the school life of the majority of the children. For, while the compulsory age is legally 16, provisions in the law render it possible to go to work at 14 if a certain school record and physical standard be shown. How these 6 or 7 precious educational years are spent is a vital question to us as a democracy. That no adequate training for life can be obtained in this pitifully brief period is evident. In this last decade, when the entire country has been going through a sort of social house-cleaning, when we have become self-conscious for the first time, no part of our national life has been more subject to thorough scrutiny than our educational system. Now that we are healthfully questioning everything, we are especially desirous of going to the bottom of this most important aspect of our life. We have become very suspicious of that kind of education which has come down from the time when the learned professions were the only "educated" groups for whom a certain type of elementary instruction was necessary as a stepping-stone to later specialisation.

We are now saying that this special kind of education must yield to what is called the education of the "whole man." We have shifted our attention from the old education of the schools to what we call the new conception of education as involving all those forces that train a person for society. On the

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other hand, while we are condemning the too special characteristics of our existing method, we are at the same time affirming that our schools are not training children for the actual life they are to lead, i. e. that education is not specialised enough. We have therefore the apparent paradox of a critique of education which is opposed to existing specialisation, on the one hand, and clamouring for vocational training on the other. The educational camps are drawn up in hostile array. We talk about training the "whole man" and then we ask why our schools fail to turn out good mechanics.

The manufacturers and business men complain of the raw recruits the schools send into industry, while the classicists lament the decline of cultural ideals which bring in its train intellectual mediocrity from which one can hardly hope for any of that leadership without which civilisation is bankrupt.¹ In general, however, the educators who are so insistent upon the education of the whole man are the very ones who advocate vocational training. The key to this paradox is to be found in the agreement on a definition of the purpose of education. While the "whole man" needs educating, he needs educating in relationships. No man, even the "whole man" is ever an atom in an unrelated universe. It is as inconceivable that culture should cease to react as that it should have failed to have sources for its existence. Culture proceeds from society and returns to society. If, adopting the term we found useful

¹ For a brilliant defence of a classical education, see "A Classical Education," by Emily James Putnam in *Putnam's Monthly*, Jan., 1908.

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in our discussion of the standard of living, we define education as the process that results in the production of social assets, we have a criterion by which to measure new educational methods. We must ask of each proposition this question, "Does this educational scheme make of a pupil a social asset," i. e. is the pupil when thus educated a thoroughly related person? If one were to be related to but one aspect of life, this would be a relatively simple question to answer. The education of an aristocracy where some are to be leaders and others are to be workers would lead to a classification in education to correspond to social classes, and in fact, that is the danger of the industrial education movement in this country. If this movement becomes a tool in the hands of employers merely to produce more effective workers, public funds are being diverted from the proper function of creating citizens, to that of creating an industrial army.

It is well for the classicists to warn the unwary that education must not become a class movement, and that the glory of American public education has never been its completeness, but that, however cheerfully haphazard, it has been common education for all, irrespective of class. A free educational system of a vocational character might easily tend to divert to private schools those who are not probably destined for industry.

But the industrial education advocates are right in their insistence upon close relatedness. They maintain with great vigour and conviction that on leaving school and upon entrance into industry there is a hiatus that can properly be bridged by voca-

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tional training alone.¹ It is not that the advocates of industrial education claim too much for relatedness, but rather too little. Every man does need to be related to his job whatever it be, industry or the professions, but he also needs to be related to his family and to society. Every man finds himself related to a world of persons and of work. His personal relationships start with those of the family into which he is born and with which he is most intimately bound for several years. They extend to the neighbourhood, to the state and the world. Every system of education that attempts to train the "whole man" must plan to relate the child to his family, his neighbourhood, his state, and, in some sense, to the universe, as well as to relate him to his prospective work. But as in a democracy it is not clear just what a man's work will be until his capacity and its relation to the social need is evinced, so much the more important is it that the later vocational training should have some vital connection with the first years of education. All these forms of relatedness must be cherished from the very beginning. The trouble with our education, then, is not that it is too "cultural," but that it is not cultural enough, for our definition of culture has also been deeply affected by the socialisation process. Culture has ceased to be the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and has become the mode of finding oneself completely related. In such a definition vocational training finds its own proper place, but it is distinctly only one

¹ See that most important report of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, Boston, 1906. (Reprinted by Teachers' College, New York.)

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of the forms that the real education of every person in a democratic state includes.

Educational interest is therefore found to centre, as it has centred during the last few years, in the primary grades, for it is here that lines are laid down and the seeds of later training sown. That primary work has yet succeeded in this revolutionary task would be too much to assert. It is a gain, however, that the problem is seen. The kindergarten paved the way for clearer insight into modes of training by its emphasis on the natural, the concrete and the interesting, through which mental energy is stimulated and developed. The value of manual training, of the teaching, both explicit and implicit, that may be carried on with the farm as its basis, have reacted on the ordinary curriculum, seriously modifying the abstract methods hitherto more in vogue and which make a far less general appeal to awakening minds. If it be true that every child must understand these various relationships to the world of nature, of industry and of society, then civics, art, hygiene, ethics and play have a place in the primary grades.¹ The crude method of teaching these relationships through self-conscious textbooks constructed for the purpose is obviously philistine. History, literature and the manual arts are more properly the media for these lessons. The trained teacher is therefore the heart of the matter, and close to the future of society and intimately related to the life of the industrial family is the work

¹ The so-called Gary system (Gary, Indiana) is the most notable example of the development of the work-play or whole-child educational scheme.

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of the public school teacher, the quality of whose attitude towards his work is of the first importance.

With the growing appreciation of the vastness of their task, the public school authorities in great cities are entering upon activities of a striking nature. Whatever may be said to be educational, that is, everything that tends to relate the individual to society, is regarded as the proper function of the school. This organic modern view leads to all sorts of cross-stratification of function puzzling to those most deeply interested in social reconstruction. The educator, the philanthropist, the public hygienist, each has a way of subsuming functions hitherto supposed to have belonged rather to the others, which is most disconcerting to those who desire to label social goods and neatly pigeonhole them. The educator thus desires to include in his plan the recreation of the child and to ensure its health, and also proposes to furnish to all, irrespective of age, those opportunities for a larger life afforded by lectures, music, museums. The proper division of labour between public and private bodies and different administrative public departments is one to be determined by various practical considerations rather than by any theory of properly specialised control. If a department of education be better equipped to carry out these educational ends than other public bodies it is clearly within its scope to do so. It is not a question of scope but rather of administration.

There are certain practical reasons why it is desirable that social functions should be carried on as largely as possible either by public educational or

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health authorities, chiefly because these are the two lines of least resistance. The idea of free public education has been familiar to us from the early days of our national existence. Public health authorities are endowed with extraordinary powers, and procedure emanating from this source is not only tolerated but welcomed, while our individualism still resents interference in other directions. Whatever can be presented in terms of education or of health has therefore a conspicuous leverage. [Under this rapid growth of the social consciousness of educational needs, various private forms of educational effort are melting away to be subsumed by public educational authorities. The private kindergarten, schools for the crippled, for the blind, for the tuberculous, private philanthropic agencies for teaching sewing, cooking, and carpentry, all are being gathered under public control with its advantages of standardisation and especially of its accountability to the taxpayers for management. With this enlarged idea of education, the school house has attained a new dignity.] Built formerly for class room work alone, it now reflects all the needs for relationship which, as we have seen, together make up what we mean by education. Kindergarten rooms, shops, kitchens, rooms for visiting doctors and the school nurse, an assembly hall for lectures and music, a playground, gymnasium, a bath, a roof garden, rooms used not only for class purposes but also for clubs, study rooms, and for parents' meetings — these are some of the manifold uses to which the modern school house fitted to meet the educational needs of the industrial family is put. To these will

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doubtless soon be added a lunch room, more adequate facilities for doctors and nurses, and it is to be hoped that the halls will be made usable for all forms of neighbourhood social life which the community agrees upon as desirable.

Is it possible to gauge the efficiency of our educational systems as they at present exist in our industrial centres? The new ideas in regard to the nature of education we must not think of as widespread in any but a formal sense. They still meet with the bitterest opposition and will have a long fight before they become assured. While this struggle is on, all kinds of crudeness will be rife. The position of manual training and all of the newer elements in the curriculum is anything but secure. Attacked as "fads" instead of being perceived as a new mode of entering upon knowledge, these essentials to education are often regarded as mere accidents. We are then decidedly in a transition period. We know we do not want all our children trained to be clerks or candidates for the high schools and colleges — the old method. We know we want children to be prepared for home life and for life in a free state, and that if such preparation has existed in the past it has been the work of other than the schools. We know that we have an especial duty to that vast group of children of other than American parents now filling our schools and whose school life must supply the training the old-fashioned American country child used to get from his parents and his whole social atmosphere and tradition. In endeavouring to transform the school to meet this almost overwhelming pressure it is not

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strange that emphasis often should have been misplaced.

The sense of proportion comes only with a little leeway in space and time and we are in the midst of this transformation. Educationally we are in flux. Having cast off the old classic simplicity and vigour of the 3 R's we are doubtless now floundering in a sea of heterogeneous smatterings. But we are not therefore to turn back to a kind of simplicity no longer adequate, but rather to plough ahead till we attain a new adjustment. One of the most certain convictions that emerges from a consideration of this educational problem is that the lengthening of the educational period is a necessity. It has been adequately shown that the period between 14 and 16 years spent in industry is not fruitful from any point of view. Not only is it often destructive from the point of view of health or morals, but this period leads nowhere industrially. In fact, spending these years in industry has no support from any quarter except from the point of view that families would be unable to survive the economic pressure if the earnings of this period were not available. Against this it may be urged that the greater efficiency attained by the additional two years' training is so much more productive that the economic gain outweighs the loss of the two years' wages. But the individual family cannot afford to deal in any general economic speculations. The only way therefore to eliminate this waste is to raise the compulsory education age, forcing families either to adjust themselves or temporarily to seek support through public or private aid. Such aid would tide

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over the period advantageously and would be an expenditure worth while.

A form of waste most commonly to be noted is the occasional absence from school. This differs from truancy, which is effectively eliminated just in proportion as the responsibility is placed upon the parent instead of on the child.¹ Occasional absence is caused by illness on the part of the child or of some other member of the family, or by carelessness. In any case the child is defrauded, through every day's absence, of $\frac{1}{200}$ of his year's schooling. The exclusion of children from school for some ailment which the school nurse can treat, while still allowing the child to remain at school, is a sin against the child no educational authorities should permit.

To keep track of these occasional absences and in general to relate the school to the actual home life of the children is a task only just begun. The grade teachers are too heavily burdened to undertake this additional work, nor is their training of the sort that would enable them by any means invariably to enter this work properly equipped. The installation of what in New York are called "visiting teachers," supplied both by private societies with the endorsement of the school authorities and by the department of education itself shows the valuable results that come from bringing the home and school each to knowledge of the other. It is clear that the ties between home and school should be strengthened. A

¹ As is the case in Colorado. See Section 75 of the Annotated School Laws from the revised statutes 534—popularly known as the Adult Delinquency Law.

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thorough system of co-operation would indicate the status of the actual standard of living of various communities with which charitable societies, dependent upon chance information, actual extreme distress, or simulated need, could not compete.

Unrelatedness to industry is now not only manifest in the still almost total absence of public vocational training, but also in the lack of direction the child receives as to his industrial future. As the child leaves school the appropriate time has come to offer to child and parents advice fitted to the possibilities of the case. Of course, it would be easy to offer the most absurd advice and it is evident that many of the occupations open to children on going to work are far more thoroughly understood by working people than by the majority of those often eager to advise. But it is also certain that there could be made available through employers and expert study a mass of information in regard to the health conditions, possible development, and general availability of various occupations that would be of great service.¹ Then, too, there are incidental duties of local school authorities, as e.g. in foreign quarters of industrial centres or in the camps of foreign workmen, the manifest duty of giving lessons in English. The live educational system is that which is on the lookout to make as many educational adjustments as possible.

Often in connection with departments of education, but oftener as a separate department, the library plays its part. As would be expected, books

¹ A study of this kind is now being prepared by the New York Department of Education.

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produce bookishness, and there often lurks about the library that air of aloofness and unrelatedness hostile to the modern cultural note. The library often seems to say, "If you are a very good, clean, quiet child and really want me, here I am," as if anything but the concrete or the heroic or the ideal makes any vital appeal to the child. The modern librarian therefore has begun to be aware that pictures and stories must lie in wait for the child, who becomes a willing victim once he feels the charm. The true children's librarian who develops story-telling groups, who relates school work to the library, who correlates her books to the art and natural history museum, who creates of her library an atmosphere which the child loves and in which the child's life blooms as in a garden, is a very real educator. Now that we know there is nothing sacred about a printed page, and that a shop window, play, even in the street, a grocer's stand, an overflowing pushcart, or even a five-cent theatre, may contain more meat for the hungry child than any number of printed pages, we must be fastidious about our books as never before, and we must demand of the libraries primarily that they create a charmed atmosphere, a big new house for the child to dwell in and delight in. Books make a roomier world, and for people to whom travel is forbidden through the exigency of poverty, large spaces are created by books alone. To get the book habit is then a luxury that no one is now denied. The art is to make this habit attractive in youth.

But the education of the school and the library is by no means the only education open to the indus-

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trial family. There is the education the child gets at home, at church, on the street, at work and by association. The boy's education on the street and through association we shall discuss when speaking of recreation. The education of the church is also treated later. Let us confine ourselves here to a consideration of the education received at home and at work.

The education of the child begins with the care and training of the baby. The establishing of a fixed routine for the baby results in the growth of habit invaluable to the child later on. The baby soon learns to know whether his crying will prove effective and he is prone to use his power most tyrannically. The baby ought to be the monarch he is, but he should be a constitutional ruler, hedged about by the customs of the realm. His subjects will not be less loyal if it is theirs to establish a charter of their liberties. If the constitution limits feedings to once in two hours and soon to once in three, the young king gets used to these regulations and falls into the family scheme most contentedly. But we know how it is in a community where the people have had little share in their own government. They get used to tyranny and actually believe in it. They have to go through a process of tyranny before they become competent as voters. And nowhere is this truer than in the relation of the baby to the industrial family. The lack of contact with the world open only to the privileged — the world of travel, of wide acquaintance, of varied custom,—throws the industrial family back upon itself and gives to it a kind of fierce unity and inter-dependence unknown in

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circles where avenues of mutual escape are at every hand. The lack of privacy and opportunity for collectedness that would be so appalling to those accustomed to these solitudes within the family is not felt as a disability where it is unknown. On the contrary, it brings with it a certain compensation in the powerful bonds that closeness of necessity entails. No intermediary comes between the mother and her child. The older children care for the younger. The girls sleep together and find it strange and dismal to sleep alone, if it be their lot at hospital or fresh air home. Such close contact, of necessity, involves friction. Members of the family fight it out, but they love it out as well and practically at the same time. In this family life of intense inter-dependence the baby is logically the centre of intensest interest. The most dependent, he brings out the most service. With human canniness he takes advantage of the passionate emotion he excites and soon reduces loving service to abject slavery. That thirst for Nirvana which we all find at the core of our being, like a worm in a sound apple, that desire to abandon oneself wholly to love, regardless of the effect on the loved one, comes out here into the high light of noon. The baby has his way — the overworked mother, needing her night's rest, breaks it all too easily for the joy of nursing the greedy baby, who would, if trained from the start, sleep peacefully till his early morning meal. The intoxicating pleasure of being walked with at midnight no baby can resist, if his dissipated taste for this sport be but a few times indulged, but when family life is very strong and the pleasures open

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to wealth and culture not available, how hard to deny oneself the pleasure of indulging the adored baby! Naturally this pleasure brings about a reaction. The other side of indulgence is ungoverned temper. When finally one's strength gives out something has to snap. It is generally patience that goes. With a round of indulgence and of discipline, based not on the fault of the offender but upon the exasperation of one who has suffered without reason, the baby grows into childhood, where indulgence and raw punishment alternate in a vicious circle.

This kind of discipline is a part of the child's education. Often it works out better than pedagogy could rationally expect. The love gets remembered and the blows forgotten. The sudden onslaughts of punishment represent a kind of crude justice. Children learn how to avoid these scenes, or, if they cannot escape them, they regard them as a part of the eternal order of things against which it would be as absurd to feel resentment as against a thunderstorm. The blow, objectionable as it is to any refined sensibility, has at any rate the merit of being swift and certain. By no means fitting "the punishment to the crime," it often adjusts the sinner with extreme swiftness to the family standard to which he is expected to conform. He gets adjusted, if not educated, and common standards are thus built up, strengthened and preserved. This standardisation makes for a unity of thought, a lack of variation that crystallises the family into a very fortress of conservatism. Habit plays a tremendous rôle. Convictions deepen. And the growths in this soil have therefore a kind of soundness impossible to ex-

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pect in a more loosely constructed family life, where each may go his own way and lead his own life from an early period. It is beside the point to ask just here what are the merits of this form of life as compared with the freer play of individuality in more privileged families. It is enough to point out that this solidarity exists and that it is the ground in which loyalties grow and which cherishes convictions, prejudices if you like, and a certain rigidity in social life. It hedges about the family with a natural defence from any influences attempting to break down existing standards. The porcupine's quills are not more useful. This profound family conservatism gives a certain emphasis and colouring to virtues and vices, furnishing them a garment of their own. What is the chief virtue to be maintained at the expense of all else? Evidently loyalty. That is, standing by one another, by the family's ideals, by the family's convictions and standards. Loyalty is not to be trifled with. It is not to be subjected to reason, for it is necessary to group existence and therefore may be said in some measure to antedate reason. Not to go back on one's friends, on one's group, often involves deceit, and we find lying therefore easily condoned by the industrial family, while it is the most abhorred sin among classes free from the economic pressure that hedges about the industrial family. In the larger group of relationships open to the privileged, truthfulness is of the first importance. It is, so to speak, the basis of confidence without which business and society is impossible.

Stealing is abhorred in all groups, but with a dif-

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ference. For stealing any trifle is just as much stealing to the legally trained, privileged group as if a large theft had taken place. Not so with the standard of our group. With them he is the real thief who takes away the things of greatest value to the group. Thus to take away rights of common pasturage, though defensible in a strictly legal sense, occasioned bitterest resentment among the poor Scotch cotters. To them this was stealing because it took away from them an opportunity long open by custom. The law recognises this natural kind of reasoning in its provisions, in the case of a roadway, for common ownership after a long enough period of common use. Humble people then measure theft according to standards of social utility as they perceive them, rather than by the letter of the law. Bravery is high among the virtues of the simple. For it is the antithesis of fear, and the life of the poor, the uneducated, all those in a narrow lot, is full of fear unless released by some large inclusive confidence such as that which real religion inspires. He who breaks away from fear is therefore a hero. To hold one's tongue is also held in high esteem as one of the finest of the virtues. Without the finesse available to those who make of words an art, unkind speech when indulged in by those inept in language has a crudity that is bound to be resented in an active manner. In the case of the Irish with their profound sense of personal dignity, their gift of language and their fighting capacities go hand in hand. The Jew, averse to physical encounter, takes it out in a skill in irony almost as effective. In any case it is seen that not to hold one's tongue brings

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about trouble and at all cost one must avoid "trouble." For trouble means possible eviction, possibly less credit at the grocer's, possible loss of one's job. "Trouble" means raising all that host of fears ever ready to surround and terrify the unprotected. Often therefore a certain reserve and suspicion is met with that seems unwarranted. It is the holding one's tongue, an unresponsiveness that involves no paths to possible trouble. It is a part of the protective armour with which the conservatism of the family is shielded.

Kindliness is not only a by-product of loyalty, but it is the extension of the family feeling, held as we have seen in great strength, to other families. They, like us, are in hard straits. We understand them. We have the same kind of life, the same hopes, the same destiny. Let us then help them out in their trouble. It is the family life enlarging itself. Like all growths from the concrete and real, this larger kindliness is vital. It has within it the seeds for a larger fraternal life. It is without artificiality and comes into being not through an ideal or through any purposive effort, but as the natural overflow from a fountain running over with pure water. The virtue of personal purity is perceived also by this simpler group in a worthier way than it is held by the freer groups. It is conceived of as a necessity for the group. Loyalty to family life and standards being the essential thing, how is it possible for any member of this group to break away from this common life and set up standards foreign to those of the group. It is not with horror or with a feeling of personal superiority that impurity is considered, but

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rather these unfortunates are strangers, are detached, are outside the pale, where alone the springs of all life are conceived to be. That is, impurity is thought of as anti-social. Always we see that "social" means for this group a very small society, i. e. the family. But in its larger sense, in that society, which is the largest outgrowth of family life, there is no deeper note to be sounded in condemnation than to find a person or an act "anti-social." The strictness of the industrial family in all matters relating to sex is quite incomprehensible unless one uses this key of family strength and unity. When the interdependence of the members of the family is so marked, any divergence from this almost fierce unity is equally marked. The freedom among married people of other groups is non-existent. To see a man walk up and down the street with a neighbour's wife is evidence of disloyalty to family unity. For a woman to attend places of amusement with another man than her husband is to bring upon her the sharpest social condemnation. The larger social life of varied interests is not comprehended. What then can bring these people together? Suspicion is necessarily most easily aroused and the strictest conduct expected and insisted upon. Not only is this true among the married, but a fixedness of custom exists among even the unmarried. If a girl is "keeping company" with a young man, she keeps company with him alone. To do otherwise is to be disloyal. Although she is not engaged, that is, is not bound to marry him if he prove undesirable, she enters, so to speak, a trial engagement. This gives the privileges of engagement. Hence, a manifest im-

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propriety in "keeping company" with more than one at a time. To have a large number of men friends at one time, no one of whom is in any way privileged, is a phenomenon not known. The nearest approach to it is where a girl goes quickly from keeping company with one to another. This is regarded as flighty. It is frowned on by mothers who have no objection at all to the system of trial engagements.

Certain virtues most tenaciously cherished by more privileged groups are the last to be considered as important by humble people. Punctuality is plainly an economic virtue whose great importance looms only where industry is keyed up to a white heat. The sense of time, so important to the highly socialised correlated modern man, does not exist where it is of little value. It is learned only with difficulty and even when learned is thought of as a necessity rather than a virtue. Those traits then that the industrial family holds up as most desirable are loyalty and kindness. These are products of the strength of family life. They are thought of in social terms. Are these not the primary traits essential in the process of social reconstruction now going on? For small loyalties will deepen into larger loyalties and kindness is the ground in which all other virtues must grow. The subordination of the vices of stealing and impurity to the inclusive vice of disloyalty is a social conception congenial to our new way of thinking. Lying is a by-product of poverty. It is not perceived to be undesirable and unlovely, as in groups from which the fear of want has been removed. Unpunctuality is due to the isola-

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tion of the family group life. It disappears as relationships of all kinds increase. The moral soundness of the industrial family and the added strength given to this morality through the family's conservatism makes one turn with increasing belief to this group as the source and spring of the life of the next economic period. With these powerful ethical forces released and amplified, a new stream of vigour will pour into our depleted moral common-consciousness.

It is in homes animated with these convictions that the children of the future are getting their education. Extreme poverty and the conditions obtaining in congested quarters of our cities break down these moral standards of the working class. But in general, the child of the industrial family is unconsciously drilled day by day into a faith in human kindness and loyalty to standards that are essentially sound and that form an important part in his education.

The education of school and home is deeply supplemented by the education of one's work. First of all, regularity gets appreciated. Home life too dependent upon the work of one woman cannot attain anything like a strict sense of regularity. But one's job begins on the dot. Be late and one is fined. Be late again and one's job is lost. Steadiness at work is also soon perceived at its true value. Too frequent changes make a bad impression. Sticking to one's work inspires confidence—it is convincing. Neatness is a necessity for many jobs and even a sense of style often counts. In general, work keys one up. A pace is set, a new kind of standard inaugurated. Every kind of work has

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its passionate advocates. Snobbishness appears. Jobs get rated from a social as well as an economic point of view. Domestic service is despised because one loses a sense of gayety and freedom though wages be higher. The shop is preferred to the factory because there one has a chance to meet the big world. Clerks hold themselves superior to mechanics who earn five times as much, because they dress better and learn the modes of speech and manner they gain by contact with other groups.

It is Work that enlarges. It is at this point that two things happen. Other groups, their way of living, their outlook, begin to exist for the worker who previously had never dreamed of them. And second, the worker realises that he is an integral part not only of a Family but also of Industry. His industrial consciousness being aroused, he utilises the sense of loyalty he has hitherto reserved for the Family and enters upon association with his fellow workers. He gains new power by this association, is delivered from some of his fears, has aroused in him new hopes, gathers new inspiration and becomes day by day more of a man. This is the education a worker gets from his work.

Education ought never to stop. With the privileged, it goes on from one form to another. Travel, books, art, educate. What is it that blights the education of the industrial family? The fact that work absorbs the vitality and time of the worker. This would not be so objectionable, if the work itself were educational. But, in highly sub-divided industries, this is, generally, not the case. If the work itself is not of the kind that expands personality, it should

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be supplemented by appropriate school work. The German continuation classes and similar American experiments, are an attempt to correlate school and work. The aim is both cultural and utilitarian — but culture not unrelated to utility, nor utility, in any sense, that conflicts with the development of personality.

CHAPTER V

AT WORK

The proportion of families receiving less than \$1000 a year in American cities we do not know, but we may reasonably suppose that the great majority of working families are included in this number. New York City shows an average wage among all manufacturing wage earners of \$584, according to the Thirteenth Census.¹

Figures given by the Department of Labour, showing weekly wages, must be taken in connection with the census returns indicating annual earnings. The large discrepancies between the two constitute a rough index of seasonal unemployment.

Of course the census figures include all workers over 10 years of age. While child and woman labour would bring down earnings in certain occupations, in others this is not the case. It is true also that in each family there may be more than one wage earner, thus largely increasing family earnings, but in the case of the families consisting of father, mother and three or more small children this will in general not be true. We can then roughly say that the heaviest economic pressure comes in those families where the

¹ According to the same authority, the iron and steel industry shows an average wage of \$662, slaughtering and meat packing of \$575, men's clothing of \$443, tobacco of \$415, brick and tile \$485.

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father is unaided by support from children of working age, and that in families of this kind (and this is a general stage through which practically all families pass) the annual income falls far below the \$1000 limit (approximate) established by recent studies of the Standard of Living as the comfort, or more properly the security, line. In other words almost all wage-earning families in great cities live for a period of about 15 years in anxiety or on the verge of dependence. Illness, accident, death, may precipitate any member of this group into the ranks of dependents.

Early in the morning, in the winter by lamp or gas light, the wage earner gets up from the bed he has shared with his wife and perhaps one or two of the children. His wife has lighted the fire and gets his breakfast ready for him, places it on the table and he eats it. For the wife puts off her own breakfast till the children are ready for school. Then she puts up her man's luncheon or else gives him, from the Saturday night's envelope he has handed over to her safe-keeping and wise expenditure, his lunch money, which varies from 15 to 30 cents. If his work is at a distance, carfare money is added. Arriving at work at 7, the wage earner plods away till 12, eats his dinner in company with his fellow workers and is at it again till 6. At home again, if he is tired out, the children must keep quiet while he gets a solitary supper cooked just for him. Perhaps he adds a pint of beer he has brought in from a neighbouring saloon or perhaps his wife or one of the children go out and get it for him.

Then there is the penny newspaper to read, the

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children to play with a bit, and then early to bed or out to his lodge, union, social or political club or the saloon on the corner, where he can meet the neighbours and enter upon the larger life of association that his home and his work alone cannot offer. His life centres about his home, his work, and this friendly association. If these three primitive forms of life are at their best, what more can be desired? A beautiful family life, joy in work, and association with one's fellow men in all their common aspirations and purposes is enough. But we think both too highly and too ill of this life of the working man. Too highly, in that we idealise it and often admire that which we would in no wise personally desire for ourselves. The family life is marred by its narrow range and through lack of money; and work is often without any of that creative element which alone can bring joy and satisfaction, and in addition, it is generally too prolonged. The social relationships, also, that are open to the working man often suffer from the lack of outlook the limited opportunities open to his group present. The trouble with the poor is not that they are not virtuous, for each class or group has its own virtues and vices, not that they are not intelligent, for mental capacity is not the product of an economic stratum, nor is it that they are not laborious for they do the largest share of the work of the world, but it is simply that they are poor. We may admire and desire the simplest and commonest elements of life, a beautiful family life, joy in work, and neighbourliness, but at their best, they cannot exist without economic security.

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Thus the importance of the wage question becomes paramount. It is a spiritual as well as a material matter, for all spiritual possibilities are tied up with it. "Materialism" proper does not emerge till after the security line is passed. Materialism is to be found in the classes that have a surplus. The anxiety to reach the security line is all of one piece. The dividing line between material and spiritual has no meaning below this plane. To fight for a living wage becomes the prime moral necessity for every man. Wages are dependent upon the demand for labour and upon the power of associated workers. It is natural, therefore, that wage earners should oppose unrestricted immigration. Realising that an unlimited supply of labour will decrease wages, working people are largely opposed to the incoming hordes. No man is opposed to his brother's coming! Sometimes the brother is of his own family, sometimes of his nation, sometimes of his religion. In all these cases economic opposition is paralysed by sentiment. This is true also when a social political creed, as in the case of socialism, is sufficiently powerful. For when nationality gives way to a world polity, immigration or the flow of peoples in any direction is a corollary.¹ The class struggle, while it may intellectually be held as a world struggle, is practically perceived as limited and defined by local conditions. The man who is succeeding in his hard fight for standing room does not want to push down the man next to him, but if he must, he will, in obedience to the pressing demand for everything that

¹ The opposition of these two points of view came out strongly in the socialist congress in Stuttgart.

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life holds of good to his family, the group for which he is immediately responsible. This clash of effort and purpose springs from no inherent desire to down one's fellow-men, but from necessity. The small group is still more vital than the large group.

Unionism or the association of wage earners for their common benefit has in it, almost of necessity, an element of narrowness and exclusiveness. Only in the modern dream of the Knights of Labour, or the impressive ultra-modern development of the general strike has association among wage workers been dignified with a universal character. Often the union, rather than the city or state, is the unit through which self-government is realised. Its responsibilities not only have a vital character but they are perceived as such, while the political campaigns, even if they chance to be of importance, are not translated into vital terms. There is nothing irresistible about the logic of politics, as there is about the logic of cash. The rich use politics to establish privilege. The poor ignore politics, because it seems to have nothing to do with the supremely important question of wages. Politics is only in the process of becoming vital to the wage worker.

The fraternal character of unionism is its highest characteristic. Standing by one another against great personal odds, the standard of living is defended from attack. The purely individual advantage is secondary to the maintenance of the standard. This fraternal character raises the tone of the members to such an extent that they come out on a new plane of existence ready and trained for larger association.

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We are tested for our capacity for association by the way in which we act in the associations we already know. Those who think they can qualify for human brotherhood, who are not eligible for membership in any family or club, hold a cheap view of the fibre demanded for a more complex socialisation. Group loyalties, while they have their small aspects, are thus necessary steps in the progress of the individual and of the race. No wonder that disloyalty or lack of group consciousness should be regarded as traitorous and contemptible.

The man who runs away with another man's wife defaults socially. He breaks the relationships built up with greatest care and struggle. The man who attempts to set up his individual will against that of his economic group is seen also by that group as a defaulter. He is an anarchist, ruining the structure it has taken so much toil to erect. The "scab" is perceived by the union man to be a menace to the standard of living, a man who, in the name of liberty, is bringing about a lowered standard for the group. He is therefore the most contemptible person that group knows—he commits the one sin. And in proportion to its realisation of other group relationship so the group will act toward the "scab." If the union represents more than the state, if it is more vividly present to its members' consciousness, then it deals with the sinner at first hand, waiting for no intervention of that larger group life of which it is hardly conscious, and "violence" takes place. Violence is the assumption on the part of the group that wrong will not be righted by the larger group—the organised state. Violence is the manifestation

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of the scepticism and distrust labour has for politics.

But while the union offers an almost unparalleled opportunity for the development of fraternal feeling, wages are protected by other means as well. The unorganised labourer often reaps the benefit of an attained wage scale without paying his quota towards its maintenance. Governmental employées in general receive a certain wage protection due to the fact that no party in power can afford to lower a standard wage. City employment is standardised, and there is also a certain informal standardisation in certain industries where conditions have attained such publicity that adverse criticism might prove economically disastrous.

Another method of standardisation is obviously possible. Where unionism is broken by employers and the workman is left to the hopeless task of individual bargaining, his wages will be governed by supply and demand alone. It will obviously be advantageous in this case for employers to keep a surplus of labour on hand working unsteadily. This parasitic margin helps to depress wages. From such a situation a wage that will allow an American standard of living to be maintained can be protected only by legislation. If the public is serious in its intention to protect the standard of living, it will be driven to a consideration of the establishment of minimum wage boards. Public pressure alone could obtain this concession, which is at first opposed by capital and suspected by labour. As the primary importance of maintaining the American standard of living is genuinely cherished, the more important it will be

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to give this plan careful thought. The logical field for the application of this method is in industries where unionism is practically impossible. It would not be strange if such legislation as in the case of recent decisions sustaining the constitutionality of laws restricting the hours of employment for women in industrial establishments were obtainable on grounds of public health. The attitude of American courts toward labour legislation has been vacillating, but while labour has been deeply suspicious of the courts and has felt that the judges' class consciousness has been influential in adverse judgments, solid gain is to be noted. In the first place the term "constitutionality" has undergone considerable change. The modern accent on relativism which enables us to interpret our creeds in the light of their origin, rather than to regard them as heaven-sent chunks ready for consumption, has begun to penetrate even that citadel of literalness, the law. That the world is in flow and that each age has its own adjustments which it must make to realise its possibilities is a point of view common to all forms of modern culture. It leavens the law relatively little, however, owing to the emphasis on precedent and the constant application of the test of constitutionality. But the rigidity of this method has relaxed somewhat, as one discovers by examining various decisions which have suffered the Constitution to be interpreted to meet modern needs. A larger view of the legitimate exercise of the police power is developing. The decisions limiting the hours of labour in certain industries in order to protect the

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public health are striking examples of this new interpretative spirit which is coming into being.¹

Legal protection for women is manifestly easier to secure than that of men on communal grounds. Yet the adult woman worker's need of protection has been recognised but slowly. Adverse decisions, however, in several states declaring laws restricting the hours of labour unconstitutional, have been superseded by the famous Oregon decision of 1908, when the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the Oregon statute providing that "no female be employed in any mechanical establishment or factory or laundry more than 10 hours during any one day."² The steadily enlarging number of women in industry makes this decision of vital import. It applies principally to the unmarried woman, for the number of married women in industry is small relatively to that of many other countries. The census of 1900 showed that $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 5,000,000 wage earning women were girls under 25 years of age, the largest percentage being between 16 and 21 years of age. In vol. IV, occupation statistics, Census 1910, p. 302, 22.9 per cent. of all working women are shown to be between 16 and 21. The protection of the American working woman means that the future mothers of the race shall not become exhausted by their work.

The fact that "working women" are young girls,

¹ A brilliant article entitled "The Attitude of American Courts Towards Restrictive Labor Laws" by Professor H. R. Seager, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 4, is explicit on this theme.

² Curt Miller case (Miller vs. Oregon, 208 U. S., 412-908), see also 1915 Miller vs. Wilson, 236 U. S., 373.

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the vast majority of whom do not stay in industry, has a very vital relationship to the question of trades unionism for women, on the one side, and to the question of trade training on the other. Expecting only to remain in industry temporarily, girls seldom have the same keenness of interest in their industrial pursuits as do men. This may be partly due to the fact that women on the whole are in the least interesting occupations and the most mechanical. The subdivision of labour gives, generally, the most monotonous and least creative tasks, as well as the worst paid, to women. It is hard to get up an enthusiasm for one's work when it appears trivial to the worker.

It is true it is possible so to see one's own small work in the light of the whole that the slightest task may gather dignity from its sense of relatedness and real importance, and one of the tasks of the new vocational training is to enlarge the industrial and social grasp of the pupil. This, however, becomes almost farcical when the hours of labour are long and when advancement is improbable. The trade schools for girls, while useful, cannot expect to do more than advance the pupil one step. It gives them an advantage over their untrained sisters at work, but the advantage cannot be great when the course of training is, as it must be, owing to the necessity of getting to work as early as possible, very short. We expect the trade school then to furnish a slight economic advantage and to give a larger outlook.

The trade union for girls, owing to the rapid transfer of girls from industry to marriage, fills

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quite a different function for the woman from that which it occupies with men. The youth of the members, their temporary and slight interest in their work, their lack of training in co-operative action in other ways, all makes the trade union for girls an unimportant element from the point of view alone of influence on wages. The exceptions are numerous enough to show the keen capacity, steady purposefulness, skill and heroism of many leaders among women unionists. But it is obvious that a young girl's union can never, unaided, be a potent factor in raising wages. Nevertheless the union has a great importance for the wage earning girl. It is her chance to get that education in co-operative action, in self-expression and in the importance of larger interests, that give dignity to life and relieve it of banality. Participation in these larger forms of life, in politics, in various social and economic measures, bestows upon women an understanding of the times in which they live which hearsay or book knowledge cannot give. It is this aspect of unionism for women that is the most important. The unionist girl will understand the point of view of her unionist husband. She will help him in the day when he is obliged to make some individual sacrifice for the benefit of his group. She will see that the family ideal will fall no lower than his own. The union is therefore rather an important part of a working woman's education for both her individual and married life than a direct economic advantage.

If working women can expect only a limited improvement in their economic position whether through vocational training or through trade union-

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ism,¹ to what can they turn for protection except to legislation supported by a lively public opinion? It is, again, the maintenance of the standard of living that is at the heart of the matter. The woman wage question is of course complicated by its entanglement with the family income. Often a merely supplementary wage, its relative unimportance compared with the earnings of the chief wage earner does not allow a clear-cut consideration of its own adequacy. But when disassociated from other income, the too frequent total failure to come up to the line of subsistence, far less security, is made clear. Again the possibility of the establishment of a minimum wage presents itself. If there are industries that will not allow both a reasonable profit and the payment of a living wage, a public truly intent upon maintaining the American standard of living will not hesitate to prefer to do without such an industry rather than to have it at such a social cost. Other alternatives are a higher price to the consumer, or the possible but improbable socialisation of the industry.

The girl at work in industry soon becomes the wife at work in the home, and then the long period of motherhood and ceaseless housework begins. For fifteen years the mother is dependent upon two factors, her husband's wages and character, and her own strength and ability as a spender. With less training for home life than fell to the lot of the former generation with its infrequent participation in in-

¹ Of course where women's work is of the kind that gets the support of allied men's organizations a true economic advantage accrues.

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dustry, the factory and shop girl begins to keep house. It is not known how many married women remain in industry during the first years of married life before the babies come. The highly "Americanised" workmen do not like their wives to go out to work. It seems to imply that the husband is unsuccessful and not able to look after his wife. This same reasoning in general, together with the natural inclination of the newly married for a life of their own, prevents the young people from going to live with the parents of either. To save up enough to rent a three-room apartment and to buy, if not all at once then by instalments, the necessary furniture, and directly after the wedding at the church or hall to take one's bride to this little home is the ambition of the young husband. If she keeps at work it is with an apology. If they go to live with the parents they think up a reason to present to the curious. But with the children the life of industry generally ceases for the mother. Not so with many of the newcomers, whose very early marriage renders support from the man alone insufficient.¹ But the work of the typical American married woman is the care of her children and the home. Outside this, if additional earnings be imperative or very desirable, there is "day's work," office cleaning, washing either at home or at the home of the customer, and occasionally domestic service with nights at home. In the case of widows such work becomes as frequent as it is available and the children are left for the day either

¹ I have in mind silk mills in a suburban city where Italian women work all day, their young husbands meeting them at the factory door at night to escort them home.

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under some neighbour's charge or at a day nursery.

The kitchen, though not as dark as the bedrooms, is not as light as the front room,¹ where the least time is spent, the proper order being reversed. Washing takes place in the same room as the cooking, and the wash is either hung out of the window by a pulley or else carried to the roof up all the flights of stairs or down these stairs to the yard. One hears much good advice about doing one's own baking, but when one considers the limited space there is for all the functions of housekeeping it seems a mercy that much that formerly took place in the home is now done outside. The baker, the fruit vender, the variety of green vegetables now available, all help to make the work of the cook lighter. The mending never ceases and the care of the baby requires closest attention. The many labour-saving devices open to the well-to-do are far too expensive for the average working man's family to use. All such luxuries as the electric washer, the vacuum cleaner, are of course out of the question. For where one is living without margin one must count one's own time as nothing. Labour-saving devices generally have a prohibitive cost of introduction. I venture to think however, that the domestic science of the future, as it affects the industrial family, will subordinate the field of developing cheap dietaries, an art more widely understood than the naïveté of our technical schools admits, to the necessity of securing training in the art of getting rid of over-work. An examination of wage earners' budgets will show that relatively little extravagance or waste takes place in

¹ In N. Y. City.

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the families living on \$800 a year or under. The place where waste takes place is where one would expect to find it — in the families that have a margin, that is, the families who can afford it. Where waste does take place is not in money expenditure but in a useless expenditure of time. Clothes get ironed that don't need it. Children wear clothing that demands greater care in laundering than other modes and goods would involve. The crowding of furniture and the collection of bric-a-brac is as common in the tenement as in more pretentious dwellings. The co-operative use of the vacuum cleaner ought to be possible. The development of slow cooking by the fireless cooker, by which one can get one's dinner started and then leave the house to find it ready hours later, is being encouraged.

The city housekeeper undoubtedly in many ways does far less than her country sister. She separates no milk, makes no butter, bakes less, gets her water from the faucet instead of carrying it from the well, always has dry fuel, lives near the grocer, the butcher and the store. She has to plan less. She lives more from hand to mouth mentally as well as physically. She may be said to do far less work than the country woman. On the other hand she is afflicted by dark rooms, by noise, often by uncongenial companionship, by the dangers of the street for the children, by the greater exposure to contagious disease, by the infectious excitement of city life, and especially by lack of resourcefulness. An acre of land can always be transmuted by labour into something, no matter how little. It is a base from which one can work and hope. With wages lowered or in periods

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of unemployment, the city home must deteriorate from the moment the little savings are consumed. Yet the city housekeeper has one bulwark to which she can constantly look with greater confidence for help. It is the school. With the growth of school playgrounds under suitable direction, with the extension of vacation schools, recreation centres and all those agencies that assist in the wider educational work being carried on for school children, the mother has more security, less anxiety in carrying on her work either at home or when she is working elsewhere. She is free from that distraction that takes her from her work to go to the doorway to see if her child has fallen a victim to the street gang or perhaps is becoming its leader! She fears accident, bad language, petty thieving, arrest. Relieved from these fears when she knows her child is in the custody of that new city children's good aunty, the school, she can cook or wash or sew or possibly get a brief breathing space for herself, needful not only for her own refreshment but for the steadying of the nerves of the family's real guide.

For girls, training for domestic and social life must evidently take precedence over industrial training. But no training is lost. A person trained in one direction is just so much to the good. She can often transmute that training into other fields. Good industrial training means among other things, accuracy, promptness, dependability, thoroughness. These qualities, if really learned, will nowhere be more useful than in the home, and the training in co-operation and in recognising the larger social view obtained in the education of unionism will make a

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wife more of a comrade for her husband, more properly ambitious for the best things for her children, and more eager in reaching out toward all those enlarging aspects of life from which are drawn courage, hope and inspiration. Such a woman welcomes improvements instead of resenting them. She is open to the new. Yet a more direct training in house-keeping has its value. The new domestic science in the public schools will be of great use. The recent development of the business of furnishing domestic help by the hour would be far more rapid if trained workers could be had in large numbers. Properly trained housekeepers going out by the hour could supplement the family income with none of the neglect attendant upon leaving the family for the entire day. It is also conceivable, with the reduction of the hours of work in factories and the extended use of the school-house during the day for study and recreation, that married women could engage in industry without the serious losses to family integrity incident upon such entrance under present conditions. Owing to necessity brought about by the European war, an entire rearrangement of work-shifts is being considered in England by which women can work part of the day at home and part of the day in a factory.

But double or rearranged shifts will not develop except as necessity calls for them. Experiments in this field would, however, prove valuable.

Women's efficiency at home, their health and vitality so dependent upon keen interest, might conceivably be energised by a combination of home and factory work.

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The economic function of the housekeeper is the disbursement of the family income. This task she performs on the whole with good judgment. Unable to be as economical as those who can buy and store in large quantities, she reckons on the basis of spending the weekly wage. Her first reservation is for insurance, second for rent, third for food, including lunch and carfare money for her husband, for, if he is a "good husband," he hands over to his wife on the night he receives it the envelope containing his weekly wage. Next come clothing money and provision for other expenses. Close proximity to various markets gives her a rapid education in economical buying. The smallness of the amount available gives no margin for vagaries, and therefore good management necessarily emerges. As spender it is she who gives the family its tone or character. Upon her interest, skill and order the family economy depends. Around her the whole machinery of the family revolves. Without her everything falls to pieces and the mother of the industrial family has no right to die. Her occasional sicknesses are a warning of the demoralisation that sets in when she ceases to grasp the wheel. Her economic importance is far greater than that of her wealthier sisters, for, as income increases, the proportion of it controlled by the wife diminishes till often she becomes simply a beneficiary of the husband. But in this humbler status her portion, if laborious, is thoroughly dignified. She is recognised as a co-worker on an equal plane in the up-building of the family. Her intimate connection with her children undiluted by any intermediaries gives the mother a deserved reverence and love which

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is undiminished by the cruder forms of discipline that would seem to the outsider to mar the family unity. These jars are forgotten, and the strength of family membership remains unbroken. Most intimately connected with the life of her children and economically independent if her husband be a "good man," the woman of the industrial family has a kind of primitive importance lost only later when she becomes, relatively speaking, a drone. She therefore has compensations for her hard work and her often unlovely lot. But where the husband fails to do his part in this plan deterioration sets in. The man who undertakes to be spender as well as earner lessens his wife's responsibilities and thereby weakens her hold upon the children. Such men are despised by all in their group, if their habits become known. It is important that the newcomers to America and especially the Italians should have a strong pressure brought to bear upon them by their neighbours on this point. The position of the Italian woman presents the most serious problem in connection with our Italian immigrant stream.

With a wider understanding of the problems of home life an interest in politics is bound to follow. It can never be superinduced artificially. But as many of the functions of the home are taken over by society, as in the case of street cleaning, disposal of sewage, water supply, etc., it is obvious that a good housekeeper finds her work connect at innumerable points with municipal or even state or federal activity or control. Woman's interest in politics is bound therefore to be realistic, concrete, and practical.

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The work of children may be considered in two aspects — that of play-work, and that of industry. Nowadays when the educators are making our play work and our work play, it is not always easy to distinguish the two. We speak of school “work” and do not use the word in a deprecatory sense. That work is desirable which is educational. School work is supposed to be of this kind, and under certain circumstances other sorts of work also may be considered as advantageous. Thus in the country, to chop kindling, to bring in the cows, to help with the planting, all chores, are education. They enlarge the boy and train him. They train him in observation and in helpfulness. They keep him reminded of his unity with his family. From this discipline he becomes able, manly and independent and when his time comes he is an all-round man whom life cannot put into a hole. He has within himself the ability to meet emergencies. It is this sort of training that has made American men on the whole so resourceful, inventive and ready.

Now what takes the place of all this in the case of the city child? Instead of chopping the wood out in the shed, he buys the kindling from Joe, the coal and ice man in the cellar; instead of bringing in the cows and milking them, he takes the can to the grocery store where “loose” milk is dispensed from the big can; instead of helping with the planting or harvesting, he accosts the push-cart man and wrests from him very creditably fresh vegetables with the pennies his mother has taken from the bag back of the clock. There is not much training in these errand incidents. He does not help by taking a minor

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part in a creative enterprise but by being a passive agent where he has to exercise little mental or physical effort. But if the boy is busy at the playground or at the school carpentry shop, he is getting real training in how to get along with his comrades and how to employ his developing powers.

So far we have considered only play-work, light helpfulness at home or the more constructive work of the newly developed recreational sides of our most modern school systems that more than anything else are the substitute for the training received in a farm or village economy. But beyond this is work proper, the entrance upon the industrial world. The twilight of this region is occupied by the baker's boy, the laundry boy, the newsboy — the before and after school worker. Much false sentiment has been wasted upon the manliness that results from these forms of work. The facts rudely disturb this sentimental view loosely based on the supposed but false analogy between this class of work and the work of the boy on the old farm. There is little that is educational in a boy's starting the day at five o'clock in the morning and lugging heavy baskets of bread up and down tenement stairs till school-time, and at the end of school repeating the process till long after a proper bedtime hour. The pale-faced laundry boy who staggers in at eleven o'clock to deliver the wash you think you must have at once is not getting any training that will help him with his school-work for the next day which he will tackle drowsily and exhausted, nor is it opening his eyes to any facts of real importance. The newsboy gains indeed considerable information. He often hears and knows

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more than he can digest or correlate. But there is a desirable sequence in the knowledge of life. The street boy gets his all at once.

We may expect within a reasonable time to find all children under 16 excluded from regular industrial all-day employment.¹ Laws adequately administered can eliminate factory child labour. Much more difficult is the task of abolishing child or adult labour in the tenement, and again a false analogy is employed. If the by-products of home life in the country are often the most profitable — making preserves for sale, making rugs — why not welcome home manufacture in the tenement? As if these two had anything in common! The woman of the family is already its most overburdened member, as we have seen. But if she must add to the family income as well as see to its expenditure,² her going out to work at least involves the necessity of making some sort of provision for the children during her absence, either at the nursery or at the home of a friend.³ But where work is taken in to do at home, such work as the manufacture of clothing, of artificial flowers, of gloves, two results are noticeable. One is the small wage received by home workers, for

¹ Up to the age of 16 in most occupations the labor of children is of slight value and the social gain that would accrue from reserving these two years for further training would undoubtedly be sufficient even from a money point of view to warrant raising the compulsory education limit to 16. This is the aim of those most constructively engaged in the abolition of child labor. See chapter IV, p. 12.

² We must not forget to reckon her services as housekeeper also as of very considerable money value.

³ Occasionally children are locked up alone at home to await the mother's return.

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their lack of organisation and the unlimited number of workers reduce wages to a minimum. The smallness of the wage makes it necessary to work as many hours as possible, and this means neglect of home duties and gradually impressing into manufacture all the members of the family capable of doing any part of the work. One of my associates at Greenwich House found a tiny kindergarten child working at artificial flowers at eleven o'clock at night.¹ The breakdown of family life caused by home work is due to the fact that it does not stay a by-product, as is generally the case of additional employments in the country, but, on the contrary, the home becomes a factory with long hours, low wages, and unregulated sanitary conditions, and child labour. Here there is no chance for any real regulation. In New York to-day only such persons can obtain a license for home work as can satisfy the state factory department, the city department of health and the tenement house department, that the entire tenement is fit from a sanitary point of view for such manufacture. This is the most drastic provision on our statute books in regard to home manufacture. But it is clear that the enforcement of such a law is beyond the power of these departments. Tenants move, diseases spring up, health conditions vary sometimes from day to day. No conceivable increase in the corps of inspectors could control such a situation. The only real security both for the public and the workers lies in the abolition of home

¹ For an interesting study of child work in tenements read article of this name by Mary van Kleeck published by the "Consumers' League." 103 E. 22d St., New York.

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work in the tenement. It may be that with the provision for such work in proper workshops and factories, the added cost of rent will increase the cost of the product to the consumer, but it is more than likely that such forms of manufacture will remove to other localities where rents are lower.

CHAPTER VI

LEISURE

In childhood, work is doing what is disagreeable and play is doing what one likes. Tom Sawyer's philosophy is sound. The minute doing work can take the form of play, the trick is turned.

The task of the teacher is to make his tasks attractive. The task of the spiritual leader is to make duty a pleasure. The mystic, with his emphasis on the joy there is in doing the will of God, is at one with the playground leader who introduces purpose into play and makes of work and play a synthesis.

Renunciation is subsumed under this spirit of play. Team play is such a joy that one subordinates oneself gladly to the spirit of the whole. Renunciation appears not as self-sacrifice but as self-expression. Work and play, purpose and freedom, all unite in the melting pot of the new social spirit. The kingdom of Heaven needs a joyful, no less than a purposive, spirit for its fulfilment. Recreation, the free creative expression of the individual, is the right of every man. The purposefulness of work, the strain that comes from long sustained labour, brings with it a reaction. The capacity for long sustained labour conceived of as worth while is ennobling, nor would the race have passed from childhood without in some way developing this capacity. But strain needs a corresponding rest. Recreation has therefore this double character of purposive creative play

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and also of rest. It takes this latter form only when work has been heavy and then it is more akin to sleep than to recreation proper.

When we speak of recreation in this chapter, we shall mean broadly the way in which time is spent by men and women away from their regular work, or, in the case of children out of school-hours and apart from any work in which they may be engaged. That is, it is the social life of the industrial family that we are to consider, both in its active and passive aspects.

The man returning from work tired-out with toil is too exhausted to engage in any recreative amusement. He may go to bed. He may drink in order to galvanise himself into some sort of activity. The stupefying pleasures of dissipation have in them nothing that rejuvenates. That inflow of new life that true recreation brings is entirely lacking in these passive forms of amusement. The hotter the pace at which work is set, the more recreation will sink to the sensual and the exciting. The exercise of will and of all one's powers in work leaves no surplus for free expression in recreation. The longer and the intenser the hours of labour, the more debasing the forms of recreation become.

The part that alcohol plays in the recreational life of the community is only now beginning to be understood. The intimate association of alcoholism with tuberculosis, and with venereal disease, renders drinking odious and a thing to be feared. But the saloon will exist as long as there is overwork.¹ For exhaus-

¹ Rapidly advancing ideals of national efficiency may eliminate the possibility of procuring liquor.

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tion demands stimulants — and the most available is alcohol. Freedom from overwork would do more, doubtless, to rid society of the larger part of its alcoholism than any other cause. Undoubtedly the saloon has other charms than that of drinking liquor. The saloon is a centre for conversation, gossip, discussion, friendly intercourse of all sorts. It is a natural meeting place. The psychology is correct that would substitute for the saloon other social centres. But for a certain proportion of the saloon's habitués, it is the liquor itself that is craved. Dancing is another of the pleasures of the senses, innocent and delightful in itself but often debased to the most vicious uses, and, when accompanied by drinking, as is often the case with the public dance halls, is frequently provocative of sensuality. Dancing often is loved as drink is loved. It is the element of abandon, of relief from the absolute deadness that comes from overwork that can find pleasure only in the most highly stimulating forms of amusement. Gambling, the theatre, card playing, are perhaps on a different level intellectually. For gambling one needs a little concentration; cards demand attention, and the theatre requires a kind of co-operation on the part of the auditor. It is interesting to note, however, that the more entertaining kinds of gambling have given way to the most mechanical forms of chance, and that the one-piece drama is being displaced rapidly by the 5-cent or vaudeville theatre with the motion-picture as its central feature. These 5-cent shows are often clean, and sometimes positively good. Their weakness, apart from the unsanitary mode of presentation in

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rooms or halls badly ventilated and dangerous in case of fire, consists not in their so-called "bad" features, but rather in the lack of sustained attention demanded by the programme. Again it is a sinking from a true kind of recreation to a mere titillation of the senses. The sports open to people of wider fortunes are prohibitive for the industrial family, because of lack of money, of time, and of vigour. New York City has a public golf course, but it is far away from the congested districts. What workingman can spend two hours in getting back and forth from the links, to say nothing of carfare and the expense of buying or hiring golf clubs?

The same is true or truer for riding, for rowing, for driving. The garden, that source of so much pleasure and delight to him who lives in the country or suburbs, is beyond the reach of any ordinary workingman in a big city.¹ As for fishing, hunting, camping, these are only for those who can afford money and time. Books make their appeal only to a limited number. Deprived of the pleasures that are open only to the privileged, the pleasures of the workingman, apart from the more debasing forms already alluded to, are largely those of association. It is the man's club, lodge, union that holds him.

¹ Even here the enterprising social worker can devise attractions. Every visitor to Chicago should see the "city gardens" where 175 plots of 40 x 100 ft. are cultivated in a vacant piece of land loaned by the International Harvester Co. The farmers, of all nationalities, paying a nominal rent, cultivate their plots enthusiastically and successfully. One Italian, in his spare time, raised \$65 worth of vegetables on his plot. There is a bungalow on the farm, used as the farmer's clubhouse, with a superintendent who sees to the ploughing and fertilising of the plot. Family socials take place at the club.

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If family life and work are primary aspects of the life of the industrial group, associational interests are hardly less primitive. Common work, common hopes and aims, bind men together. It is from these associational forms of life, therefore, that we are to expect release, if it comes at all, from the lower forms of recreation. It is worth while to realise the full importance of this fact. Many who inspect these social phenomena have endeavoured to present the lower forms of recreation in a light that casts discredit upon those engaged in them. The creation of genuine interests below the security line is a hopeless task. Below the security line a man's only struggle is to get to safety. The man who is shipwrecked has only one duty, that of getting safe to land again and then to help his fellow-sufferers to do the same. The shipwrecked man has no time to be bothered with books, interests, ideals. To reach land is his sole duty, and it is a grave one, fraught with perils. The man and the woman on the raft want neither libraries nor cooking lessons—they want rescue from their precarious position. The fight of the submerged is for existence. If leisure comes to him, he will spend it often in unlovely ways—anything as relief from toil. The creation of interests, important as it is to moral development, has therefore the most vital connection with the problems that centre about the standard of living. There is an appropriate sequence in the development of men's powers. To create interests in the submerged is to attempt to teach the kindergarten child calculus. First economic security, then interests.

We have excepted the interests of association,

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which alone, for those below the security line, are likely to develop forms of recreation that have in them the promise of unlimited development. Coming together for any purpose and leading a common life involves sacrifice, restraint, purpose, generosity. It is an egoistic assumption that the privileged, the cultivated and the wealthy can create interests among those below the security level. The fatuity of this form of self-satisfaction leads to much meddling, trifling and ineffective benevolence. The place for the creation of interests, in so far as they spring at all from without, is just at the security level. There is just where a rich opportunity comes in, for where true leisure begins and where the deepest dread of poverty is removed, there is a soil in which may be planted all the seeds of interest open to humanity.

The public attitude toward those forms of recreation that are dissipating in character is not crystallised. In regard to drinking, prostitution, gambling, public dancing, there may be said to be no policy. This is due primarily to the fact that most people regard these as personal matters, interference with which would be an infringement on constitutional rights. As soon, however, as any of these forms of amusement can be presented as inimical to the public health, the police power of the state will be invoked to reduce the harmful element in them to a minimum. The liquor business is controlled by the State on this implicit assumption, and public opinion may bring about a far completer control as soon as it wills to do so. The same is true in regard to gambling and the flaunting forms of prostitution. The super-

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vision of dance halls and the removal of some of their objectionable features has begun. Cutting down these evils to a minimum on grounds of public health may be expected, as communities become more self-conscious.

True liberty is attained by the exercise of choice. For many who resort to these forms of recreation, choice exists to so feeble a degree as to be almost negligible. The method of restoring a true recreation to those who are below the security level is not by making dissipation easy, but by furthering every effort to abolish poverty, so that the feeble, parasitic, overworked group will be transformed into a strong class that is capable of making a real choice, and second, by an appreciation of all those associational forms, springing from the groups themselves, which act as a natural counter-interest to the destructive forms of recreation, and on the development of which the future of the working class so largely depends.

These groups are lodges, clubs, political associations and unions. One must also count in the informal unorganised groups that centre about cafés or saloons. The lodges are social groups with a benefit feature. These societies are to be found among the Americanised population and also in the immigrant group. Holding entertainments and frequent business meetings, there is a certain regularity and steadiness about these groups, often mixed with considerable hilarity no doubt, that renders them formative in character. Although the standards of such associations are often not very high either in purpose or practice, they have nothing in common

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with that unrelated debauchery that makes of the isolated individual a piece of human wreckage. On the contrary, these associations foster friendship, mutual forbearance, a common understanding,—all those elements that make for a constructive society. The same is true of social clubs. These latter are generally ephemeral associations, often indeed formed for the benefit of some self-seeker who hopes for financial aggrandisement by working his popularity for his own benefit. Thus a John J. Flannigan Association will be formed by John and his friends. Possibly John will be out of work. He may not be a genuinely unemployed man but one on whom a distaste for labour has made a temporarily marked impression. He won't work, and as his mother finally decides not to give him free board any further, and as he seems to be nearing the necessity for re-entering industry, he takes to the not infrequent device of gathering unto himself a few like-minded associates who, to his glory, call the newly formed club by his name. Launched with a charter and a name, and managing to pay the rent of a room, outside of which hangs an imposing sign telling the world who it is that occupies those spacious quarters, the club begins its operations. Formed for the purpose of making money, it proceeds to do so by a method which to the onlooker appears far more laborious than any regular trade that ever existed. Of course money is to be made by holding an entertainment. This involves hiring a hall, hiring music and printing cards of announcement of the event called "throw-aways," and then tickets. Later badges must be secured. The programme is

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also to be furnished and filled with advertisements. The hall will have a bar. If the club can give proper assurance that a certain amount of beer will be consumed at the ball, a date is secured and no payment except a deposit in case of possible failure to carry through the enterprise is made. If the hall's management is not convinced that the club is able to consume the amount of liquor indicated, a price will be set on the hall's use, and in case the club does not desire liquor to be served, the price of the hall will be high and will be required to be paid in before the box office opens.

Music must be paid for in advance. A popular band will cost from \$25 to \$40 in New York. The printing is no small item, for it is very important that posters should be placed in every saloon window and other conspicuous places to notify the community of the coming event and stimulate the purchase of tickets. Throw-aways will be printed by the thousand. For it becomes the duty of the new club members to attend all other entertainments and shower about these announcements of their own coming show. Tickets, price 50 cents, admit gentleman and ladies. They often include hat check, which otherwise costs an extra ten cents or quarter. Extra ladies will be admitted at 25 cents each. Badges range from 10 cents to \$1 according to their glory and size. Now all these preparations demand time and money. The organisation of these affairs has a technique of its own, and the affair, if properly handled, is carried through with rigidity and solemnity. To vary from the established routine is to be eccentric, unorthodox, irregular. The inex-

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perienced settlement worker, desiring to instil a little variety into the sameness of these balls, often does not understand the tenacity with which the established order is clung to, nor does the club understand how it is possible to improve upon the traditional mode. Months are occupied in getting up one of these affairs. There are committees for each branch of the work involved. Protracted meetings are held to decide the important issues presented. Shall it be Smith's or Budweiser's Band? Shall the badges be centred with a portrait of the president of the club or with the club's motto? Floor directors are to be appointed, the reception committee selected. Dress suits are to be hired for the evening, at least by the general committees. He who leads the grand march will of course bring with him the lady with whom he is keeping company. She will carry a bouquet presented by her partner, and she must be versed as well as he in the solemn intricacies of the never-ending grand march. On the night of the event, the money must be ready for hall and music. The printer often waits. And sometimes credit can be obtained from the badge-maker. The programme reeks with local advertisements and often a space indicates that it is taken and paid for by "A Friend." In the boxes of the hall's balcony sit the friends of the club. The local politicians, prominent business men, settlement workers, etc., turn out in a body. Always are to be seen the anxious, care-laden members of other clubs, busy with their throw-aways. At the box office word has been left by the club that no unattended girls are to come to the ball. For the social club prides itself on its freedom from un-

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desirable promiscuity. "Spieling" is not allowed and the policeman calms down those on the floor who are beginning any objectionable dance. The thing to do is to keep down drunkenness, to eliminate street girls who flock to such entertainments, and to preserve to the end order and decency. Soon the hall gets filled with smoke, the cheap poor beer sold at a high price goes to the head, windows remain closed. The girls, to be sure, drink only soda water, for it is not good form for girls to drink beer. And the dress of the girls is traditionally modest. The girl in low-cut gown is open to criticism, though this is not so true now as it was a few years ago. The young men dance, for the most part, only with those girls with whom they are keeping company. This social dulness of limited partnership in dancing is compensated for, however, by the good quality of the floor and the long-continued joy of dancing. The ball begins to thin out, even at a Saturday dance (the most popular night), at one o'clock, but it is not till 3 or 4 that it is over. At 5 o'clock the exhausted but victorious club members close the entertainment and go home. Sometimes in a body they will attend the first Mass before retiring for a few hours' sleep. If the crowd has been large, the receipts from such a ball after all expenses have been paid will range from \$400 to \$700. What a disproportionate gain for so much effort, some Philistine will say! But the critic forgets that it is by such paths that men are trained. The perseverance, effort, purpose, restraint, that has gone into the making of that ball might have gone into something more worth while, according to others' standards,

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but as a matter of fact, it would not have gone elsewhere. Here is an interest ready at hand. And for its carrying out, all the social virtues must be brought into play.

The social club often breaks up after the money earned by the ball has been spent, for its purposive character is weakened or even disappears at this stage, and no group without a common purpose has in it the seeds of permanence. Another reason for the breaking up of social clubs is to be found in the marrying off of the members. As the young men marry, their interest in this kind of club generally wanes, both on account of the absorbing nature of new family relationships and also because of the unwillingness or inability to keep up the payment of dues when more real responsibilities must be met. Nevertheless, such clubs often exist for years. The balls are varied by trolley rides, when cars are chartered carrying the flags of the club, by picnics, held generally at some amusement park and hardly to be distinguished from balls, or by outings or excursions to some resort. In general all these forms of entertainment have a monotonous resemblance one to the other, each including dancing and beer and music. Variety is neither desired nor liked.

Political clubs have also their social features. Here a higher note is struck in that the purposive effort is more sustained. This gives a character and quality to the group that the social club alone cannot confer. To work together for a cause gives a certain strength of fibre to men. Political clubs are of course often groups whose purpose is to make

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some sort of personal gain out of political action. This gives a commercial character to the group. On the other hand this is a realistic note that all can understand. It is a plain question of advantages to be gained. The political club member's desire for aggrandisement is nothing he conceals. The point of view is too common to be ashamed of. And in the meantime pleasant friendships are made, good times are enjoyed and an esprit de corps developed that often overrides its original bounds and results in a wider outlook. Of still more significance is the trade or industrial association — the union. Sometimes the grouping of those of one trade, sometimes, as more recently, the association of all those engaged in the same industry irrespective of trade,¹ these groups are formed to protect wages from falling, to try to raise wages, to reduce the hours of labour and in general to make a collective instead of an individual bargain with the employer. The union is therefore possessed not of an adventitious purpose, but of a purpose that involves the momentous question of economic existence and of the possibility of the maintenance of the standard of living. While a study of its economic phases does not belong to this chapter, it is not inappropriate to consider the union from this point of view of associational pleasure and inspiration. The union man who is actively engaged in his union becomes absorbingly interested in questions of which he was previously only vaguely conscious. He sees the great increase of power that comes by association. He realises the difficulties of the struggle in which he is engaged. He per-

¹ Industrial unions.

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ceives the importance of issues hitherto obscure to him. He becomes a thoughtful man, a purposeful man, in significant ways an enlightened man.

His struggle is a realistic one, as in the case of the political club member, but there is in this form of association an ideal note in general lacking in political clubs. The political club expects to wrest advantages from others — the union man expects to win them for himself. One seeks favours, the other demands rights. This fraternal feeling, based on a desire for justice and an intention to get it, has within it all the possibilities of the best kind of communal life. Here is a great common interest developed by the industrial family with no extraneous aid. In such groups lie those deepest forces which we call humane, religious, or social, as our mood or conviction dictates. Undoubtedly such associations, from the ephemeral club to the political and industrial groups, are often honeycombed with littleness, self-seeking, treachery, fraud. But the point that needs special emphasis is this, that these associations, however liable they are through bad leadership, the introduction of gambling, deterioration through drink, to sink into instruments of oppression, are the natural normal groups whereby family life is enlarged, democracy made possible and all the elements set in motion which under favourable circumstances will blossom into a fraternal social existence.

In addition to these self-directing forms of social life there are (1) the commercial forms of recreation and (2) those free forms furnished by the community or by private benevolence.

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The most conspicuous forms of commercial pleasure are the saloon, the theatre, the dance hall, the gambling place and the houses of prostitution. The last two are under the ban of the law and the saloon is subject to communal control. The saloons are of widely different character, many of them being decent places refusing to sell to minors, to sell liquor to already intoxicated persons, or to countenance the evils of the "back room." But in general it is idle to dream that the saloon can serve any useful purpose beyond that of being a free meeting-place where good fellowship is fostered. While the saloon fills this function for certain race groups, the café performs the same office for other groups. On New York's East Side the Jew goes to the café and there drinks tea while talking of the Russian revolution, the Yiddish drama, or the impending social-political changes. The Italian men also gather in cafés not only for gambling but also for news in regard to the home village, the prospects of work for the coming season, and all the gossip of the great Italian community, its loves, and murders, the opera and the respective merits of the latest Italian conductors. For the Italian's love of music is an active form of recreation to him — no passive thing, as it is to so many American opera-goers who go to rest or pass the time away. The Italian goes to live within himself the great things of which the music tells. And nowhere are musical affairs so fought over, so vigorously debated, as in the humble cafés of the Italian workmen.

The theatres are an unceasing delight to every one. The social dramas in the foreign theatres

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often have artistic merit. Especially in the case of the Yiddish drama an appeal is made to the realism and passionate interest of the nervous and intelligent group for whom they are intended. The vaudeville¹ is appealing on account of its opportunity for presenting short unsustained features. An act, something distinctive, a "turn," a trick, it is this that people want. A nervous, tired public refuses anything that demands sustained attention. It is an easy road to the present 5-cent theatre craze. Now at last in the "movie" we have a cheap show available for almost every one. Its character is fairly good and capable of control and of great improvement. There is plenty of room for "turns" of all kinds, and for music. This great mechanical device has revolutionised the theatre for working people. The regular drama must always command an admission price prohibitive for the poorest groups, but with a drama machine-made, the cost of presenting the performance is so reduced that a low admission fee is possible, especially as there is no exhaustion on the part of actors and the performance can be repeated again and again during one day and evening. There is little that is harmful about these shows, and even this can be eliminated by proper co-operation with the manufacturers of films or by social control. The opportunities for instruction are wide, and undoubtedly this form of amusement has an even greater future before it. It is passive, how-

¹ For two very instructive articles on the history of the drama in America, see Mr. James L. Ford's "Appeal of the Stage," *McClure* 32: 268-76, Jan., '09 and "Our National Stage," *McClure* 32: 491-9, Nov., '09.

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ever, in character. It is fed out to the auditors, whose reaction is but slight. No concentration or sustained interest is demanded. It is a good way of instilling facts, but a poor way of elevating the emotions or stimulating the attention.

Among other commercial attractions are such great enterprises as those afforded at Coney Island, where the senses are aroused by all the varieties of the "Loop the Loop," and where spectacular effects of great beauty often give great pleasure. One in some sense shares the more abundant opportunities of the rich, when one has enough light and colour about one. The "Dreamlands" of these pleasure parks give delight to countless thousands. Again, however, it is the pleasure of sensation with no arousing of the creative faculty.

Apart from these commercial enterprises are the communal efforts to afford recreational facilities to all citizens. Such is the intention of the band concerts given in the public parks at the expense of the taxpayers. Such are the recreation piers extending into the river and offering a cool promenade for all who are trying to escape the heat of the pavement or the tiny rooms of the tenement. And such, especially, are the parks themselves where the city's crowded population can gain for at least a brief time a sense of freedom and of space. Under the pressure of the city's great needs the old "keep off the grass" idea is yielding to a more modern sense of utility.

Besides the motion picture entertainments, the parks are practically the only places where whole families can together enjoy any kind of recreation.

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For if pleasure means payment, of course not all can afford to engage in it. If it be a ball, the younger children are not welcome (though sometimes they are taken) and usually some one must stay at home to mind the baby. But the parks can be enjoyed by all. They are obviously a necessity for city life.

The family has, of course, certain recreational features of its own, independent of all the agencies of which we have spoken. All these family social pleasures centre about the great primitive events of life — about birth, marriage and death. At a christening party beer is consumed, often at the expense of the godparents. In the case of the Italians, the baby is taken to church by the godparents and possibly the father also. The mother is too busy to attend, for she is getting the house ready for the party. Often a cab is hired and the baby with its prospective godparents hastens to the church, where the baby becomes a member of the greatest social organisation in the world. On his return, confetti showers the baptised baby and his attendants. Up the narrow stairs to the kitchen transformed to a ball-room. In one corner is the harpist and violinist. In the bedroom all the furniture of the apartment has been placed. In the tiny kitchen is the beer, perhaps a keg for the occasion. With gaiety the mother dances the tarantella, oblivious of her lack of figure and her departed youth, for the baby is one of many. The visitors come up and then go down to make room for more. The place is crowded and the christening is a great success. If the wedding takes place in the church the wedding party may follow at the house or in a hall — or the

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wedding itself may take place in the hall, all depending on the racial customs of the bridegroom and bride. The wedding party at the hall is often a very expensive and elaborate affair. Many are invited to a regular sit-down supper. The dancing continues till late at night. Even though the bride's dress be hired, the expense often comes up to hundreds of dollars, and this even though tickets be sold at the door to any comer for the general dancing.

And even the house of death has its social aspects. The mourners must be refreshed. The technique of death, if we may say so, is very exacting. All the furniture must be removed and the room in which the dead is coffined is draped. There is a dignity in the candlelight and solemn hangings, not unseemly. And then comes the stream of people. All the neighbourhood file by, men, women and children, to see the face of the dead once more, perhaps to drop to one's knees beside the bier, cross one's self and say a prayer for the repose of the soul of him who has gone. At last comes the understaker, the room is cleared, but the hallway and the sidewalk are filled, as the coffin is borne to the waiting hearse. The insurance money is paid, the undertaker departs. Coming home from the grave the relatives must be refreshed. Often throughout this whole period between death and burial a lavish hospitality is extended to all comers.

In the ordinary family life, apart from these special occasions, there are few visitors. For to invite a man to stay to dinner is to incur a reckless expenditure not warranted on a small income. The

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parties that take place in the homes, as for example on New Year's Day and the following Ladies' Day, involve only a small outlay for refreshments, the technique requiring never more than ice cream and cake and often only lemonade and cake. Substantial suppers are sometimes served at church sociables or at club meetings, but this occurs in a more prosperous economic stratum only. At the small home parties in the tenements, what is known as "talent" is always welcome. "Talent" is any one in the neighbourhood who can sing, recite or do any especial turn. Such a person has the entrée to any party, no matter how private, and is a welcome guest.

The need of larger recreational facilities than those the limited space of the home can afford is marked. The hall with saloon attachment obviously does not suitably meet this social need. Sometimes, as in the case of Clinton Hall in New York, a private association is formed to furnish proper provision for such affairs. But it is clearly unlikely that private associations can or ought to cover the needs of so large a group. Chicago is one of the few American cities that has faced this need in any adequate way. This it has done by the establishment of so-called Field Houses in the public parks. These are really municipal club houses open to all without charge. These Field Houses are furnished with a restaurant where it is possible to buy a good and cheap luncheon, baths, sometimes a swimming pool, a large hall for large entertainments such as a ball, and smaller rooms for club meetings, etc. Choral societies, any form of association that applies, in

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fact, may use the building. The building is cared for by municipal attendants trained to meet their several obligations. These wonderful social centres, as in the case of school centres, help to develop neighbourhood spirit; they give an opportunity for struggling organisations to express themselves; they offer, in fact, a free chance for that self-development and expression which is the most valuable and pregnant element in recreation.

It is not possible, even in this brief survey, to omit mention of the relation of recreation to rapid transit. With a cheap rapid transit many forms of suburban and country pleasures would develop that are now totally unavailable. As it is, we must admit that taken as a whole the recreation of the working man is passive in character and therefore useful only as a sedative, with the exception of his associational interests. To strengthen these is of real importance.

All these various forms of social life, however, are open chiefly to men — how different is the story when we come to think of the woman of the industrial family! In general free from the cruder forms of debauchery, without interest in athletics, without membership in any social, political or industrial organisation, her life presents a barrenness that is so striking as to be appalling. Tied to her home, with infrequent opportunities after marriage for the balls and dances she loves, what social life she has is within a short radius of her home. Without the presentation of large interests she gets her development through family life alone. The training of the children, the physical care of the home, the life she shares with her husband — these fill up her thought and

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her life. Her economic importance as spender gives her dignity and her hard work makes her genuine. Being dignified and genuine, in other words real, she has a crude fund of strength capable of all kinds of development, if only the chance should offer. An interest in politics would be the natural sequence to her interest in domestic affairs. The only social life possible to the woman consists in the conversation she carries on with her neighbour. The gossip and idle talk of the tenement is largely due to the fact that women are without those associational forms that keep men's interests on a different plane. The sharp word, the malicious tale, these are the fruit of overwork plus isolation. What a blessing to the women of the industrial family are the clubs where they occasionally meet at the settlement, or the parish guilds of which they are members, or the parents' associations which occasionally exist in connection with the public schools. An infrequent afternoon or evening spent at one of these gatherings, a rare visit to the park or the cheap theatre, a possible few days with the baby at a vacation house, these are the rare opportunities which the women enjoy of social life. For we may almost say when we speak of the recreation of the married woman, that it does not exist. She gets her joys in her daily life, but they are blurred and enfeebled by overwork, by a narrow outlook, and by lack of the strength, purposiveness, and courage that association brings. The only normal vent for self-expression is in neighbourly conversation. As her life is lived deeply, though narrowly, this conversation has a tang, directness and character in it that makes the ordinary

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talk of the average woman of a higher economic stratum appear vague, wobbly and vaporous. And the philosophy of the tenement gossip, being founded on experience, is realistic, sound, and witty but none too cheerful. These talking bees over the wash or pulley line, in the hallway or on the doorstep, are reinforced by an occasional ladies' night at the Lodge, by attendance at the Church fair, or by a trolley ride to an amusement park, pushing the baby carriage to the pier or sitting on the bench at the playground watching the children play, attending Arbor Day exercises at the school, seeing Mamie graduate (oh, the time it took to save up enough for the muslin dress, the shoes and the ribbon, and how gaily Mamie's hair is curled!)—these are the little pleasures that make up the married woman's social life. An occasional afternoon spent at a sister's or an old friend's who lives at no greater distance than can be compassed between meal-times, adds a touch of variety to these recurring possibilities.

For the daughters who have reached maturity the story is different. From 14 to 19 or 20 there is half a decade of a more experimental nature, a wider range. The days are spent in shop or factory or, more seldom, helping at home. The week's end brings with it the sealed envelope which goes at once to the mother. Of the weekly wage a certain amount is returned for carfare or sometimes for coffee to add to the cold lunch at the noon hour, but in general the money for clothing is expended, if not directly by the mother, at least with her approval of the amount reserved for this purpose. A large part of the girl's earnings goes for clothes. This she finds

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important for two reasons, first because she is able to get and to keep a higher grade of employment if she is well dressed, and secondly because it helps to establish a desirable social status. The girl carries with her as she goes to church, to the theatre or to work, no outward mark that betrays the meanness of her tiny room, nor the slenderness of her daily fare. She will be judged by her appearance, and that to her means her clothes. Sumptuary laws were intended for this very purpose, to prohibit the break-down of class through a common garb. Fashion levels. Imitation flows freely and stops at nothing. The American working girl and her foreign-born sisters soon catch the habit, and dress as modishly as any woman. Tastes vary, but the Irish girl has the greatest refinement in her dress; she rarely chooses the extreme. Restraint and simplicity are the notes of her costume. If in general the working girl spends too much on her dress and cares too much for it, she is not thereby differentiated from other American girls. The working girl's pleasures are centred about dancing, the theatre, and the young man. The growing love of sport and outdoor life that is broadening and freshening the young woman of larger economic opportunity is of course a closed door to the city working girl. Riding, driving, golf, tennis, swimming, skating, gardening, rowing, canoeing, all these are unknown. Without training in music and with neither time nor interest to pursue any artistic or literary accomplishment the working girl's pleasures are narrowed to shows, dancing and the young man. Generally restricted to the certain number of late dances which her parents allow her to attend during the

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winter (often not more than three), she may attend the theatre with the young man with whom she is keeping company, sometimes as often as once a week. The young man pays her way. To be sure, he expects a return. He expects her to go with no one else and to give him the privileges of engagement. Sometimes a passion for the theatre will lead a girl to go with a man with whom she is unwilling to keep company and yet who expects his payment. Such a relationship is often the first step on a dangerous slippery path.

The virtue of the working girl is protected, as all virtue is protected, by a variety of elements: by lack of opportunity for downfall, by fear of consequences, by the technique of "keeping company,"—this trial engagement generally resulting in marriage,—by religion and by her own native purity, that is, her disinclination to give without love and her realisation that true love refuses to compromise the object of affection. The city does not offer the isolation that feeds temptation. An early return at night is therefore in general the security parents have to bank upon. Young girls up to 16 are expected to be at home at 9 o'clock, older girls at 10. If the girl is out with her young man at the theatre or a dance, parents have little anxiety, on account of the stability of the status of keeping company. We see then that all these forms of pleasure are bound up with sex interest. The girl is almost foreordained to a very early marriage. The elements that counteract this tendency are but two — a conscious interest in work and its responsibilities, such as that which crystallises in the trade union, and the friend-

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ship that grows up between girls themselves. The "lady friend" is the fellow worker or neighbour who becomes confidante and intimate companion. This relationship is often beautiful. It is a developing relationship resulting in a deeper understanding of a growing woman's life. There is also in this relationship a spontaneity and freedom that a girl bound in the iron vise of keeping company cannot have. The young man friend is out of the question; the young man is always a quasi lover in any case, but the girl has a chance to expand and blossom in her friendship with the girl, and often the resulting absence of isolation postpones the keeping company stage.

The absorbing nature of this friendship with another girl, the demands of "keeping company," the pleasures of dancing, all these tend to make it far more difficult to turn the girl's attention to other forms of social pleasure or to give her an interest in what are called "useful" occupations. These latter may be undertaken successfully by friendly persons who have sense enough to correlate them to the more powerful and natural stream of the girl's life. Millinery can be taught successfully as Easter approaches — dressmaking, as a ball looms on the horizon. Cooking, if keeping company is soon to give way to marriage or if one has just been married. Too often what the benevolent mean by "useful" is the training of an efficient working class, not for its own sake, but that this class may work more effectively for the cultivated possessing group, which alone apparently has the right to recreation without any questions being asked. Why should a working

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girl be engaged in something "useful" in the brief hours of her freedom from that industry where no one doubts her utility? If indeed we properly understood social-utility we should realise that what working girls need for the hours of their freedom from industry is relaxation and the fostering of wider interests; anything that leads to health, to vigorous motherhood, and to an understanding and joy in the wider world of politics, art and affairs. This enlargement of life is the right of every one. Whatever dangers this may involve are not commensurate with the gain. For a democracy cannot be built on top of a class that is not free in its turn to do, think and feel whatever lies within its powers. To provide proper facilities for the free expression of recreation among working girls is, then, a duty of society, and if any attempt be made of an educational kind, it is obvious that the lines of least resistance are those to be followed. Existing pleasures, such as dancing, should be guarded, and then association with other girls in either social or industrial groups should be strongly fostered. Drinking is a form of pleasure that makes no appeal to girls who have not sunk to other forms of dissipation. The young working girl, so precious to the community, is unconscious of her importance. Carrying the heavy burden of industry from childhood and soon to carry the burdens of the home, she has the free evening hours of perhaps five years for her little fling. Hedged in by work on all sides, with no vision of any rest ahead, is it not ignorant and cruel that many of those who think they are friends of the working girl should insist that these brief hours

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be "usefully" spent? Such insistence is of course luckily impotent. All that the public can do is to assist through community centres in connection with the schools, through such social centres as the Field Houses in Chicago, through the social settlements and similar houses, in giving these girls from whom we are taking and expecting so much, a good time, unspoiled by possibility of harm, guarded, yet substantially free, and at the same time opening up, wherever possible, a larger horizon of thought, of feeling, and of action.

For the children of the industrial family the problem of recreation is simpler. Conceded to be an integral part of education, play has entered the school house to stay. Where it is impossible to get a good yard, the roof or basement is used. With no fields to roam over, no hayracks to ride, no wild flowers to gather, no apples to appropriate, no nuts to throw a stick at, the schoolhouse is manfully tackling the problem how to be schoolmaster, parent and Nature all in one. For Nature has to come to the child if the child cannot go to Nature. This means not only room for play and play leaders of great resourcefulness, initiative, and ingenuity, but also a thorough overhauling of the curriculum in order that Nature may say her say in reader, in tiny gardens, and in pageantry. The school must do the parents' work as well. No time at home for the bed-time story hour, no quiet room for home study, no roomy attic for romping games and "dress up" plays, no chance to help Father patch up the hole in the barn door, saw wood in the shed, and shingle the porch, splice the well bucket rope, and give the dairy a fresh coat

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of white paint. The air space of the tenement is measured, not only by the yard stick, but also by its inevitable shutting out of handiness and readiness to meet emergencies that the village or farm economy furnishes. Efficiency, adaptability, handiness, these must now be supplied, if at all, by the school and the playground. The work shop and the open air gymnasium must be substituted for the farm.

But the children are as yet scantily supplied with these necessary educational facilities. To-day with all our thorough understanding of the value and necessity of play, the street is still the children's greatest playground. There the classic games of London Bridges and Sally Waters go their eternal round. Tops, marbles and baseball mark the passing of seasons with a vivid regularity that puts the calendar to shame. Down the crowded block come the Goths and Vandals from three blocks away to destroy the civilisation of the invaded block. And now we sing with Virgil "arms and the man"! For the winning gang is led by the hero of the day. Thus all the sports of war and peace find their place in this arena of the crowded block. Oh, to celebrate the Party's victory on election night by the simple but ever appropriate means of piling old bedding on the asphalt, making a glorious annual synthesis that will burn and crackle while the policeman turns his eyes away to evade an unpleasant issue! At the age of five, one is old enough to head a triumphant procession that marches upon the ash barrel to despoil it of its more obvious treasures. At eight, one gathers on the edge of The Gang to catch some swashbuckling word of imprecation or to hope for

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some minor participation in its glories. At thirteen one joins the gang with lead pipe in view, the milk bottle in the area to snatch, or perhaps, when there's a party at the settlement, a hasty break through the kitchen window will secure the paper-boxed slabs of mixed ice cream, the summum bonum of all foods. What is the bundle on the end of the truck? Let us see. Quickly examined in the passageway to the rear house, it turns out to be silk, heavy and glistening, such as the pawnbroker has in his neighbouring shop. Quickly to the older boy whom one recognises as a secretive but friendly soul. With the proceeds a glorious spree on ginger-pop and more slabs of ice cream. And so the Street, so full of innocence, excitement, joy, and pitfalls leading to the Children's Court, the Home, the Asylum, the Reformatory, maintains itself as chief playground until society decides to do its duty. Shooting craps because there is no place for games that have only to be presented to be welcomed, picking toys from the department store counter in lieu of apples or grapes, lighting bonfires, making away with lead pipe, all this is the natural result of our lack of opportunity for play in which the constructive gifts of childhood can be freely exercised.

We have seen that the problem of recreation for the industrial family is intimately related on the one hand to education and on the other to the standard of living. Below the security level, recreation sinks into relaxation, excitement, or dissipation. No room is left for the exercise of free creative play. We have seen that, shut off from most of the forms of amusement open to those who are well-to-do, the

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chief forms of recreation centre about the normal association of friendly relationships, political interest, or industrial improvement. We have followed the young girl through her brief period of gaiety to the limited opportunities for freedom and rest that can be wedged into the life of joy, sorrow and labour that make up the married woman's lot. We have seen the child's insistent playfulness distorted by lack of opportunity till it becomes the feeder to the court and the reformatory. Play, leisure, freedom, these are all bound up in the word recreation. To withhold these possibilities from a great group of fellow human beings is to make men a means to an end — the one unpardonable sin for a democracy.

CHAPTER VII

HEALTH

Health is dependent on nature, vigour and on environment. Unless poisoned by alcoholism or other toxins, or handicapped by physical defects such as deafness or blindness, babies have a fairly equal start from one generation to another. Public health is secured by the removal of race-toxins on the one hand, and the maintenance of social hygiene on the other, reinforced by a large measure of education in personal hygiene.

The health of the early immigrant groups was below par. The states had differing policies in regard to the admission of foreigners. It was not till 1882 that the federal government took over the control of the admission or exclusion of immigrants and not till 1891 that the control of the administrative enforcement became federal. Until a federal health policy had developed, the defective, the tuberculous, the insane, could be admitted. In fact, many of the early immigrants were transferred practically at once from the boat to the poorhouse. It is not surprising, therefore, that the health of the early immigrant group stock shows, to this day, marks of this federal indifference. The census returns indicate a far higher percentage of dependence, alcoholism, and general physical depletion among the earlier comers'

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descendants than among the newly-arrived. The health of the Jewish and Italian and Slavic stream is better than the health of the earlier comers and their children. This is partly due to a stricter federal policy, but also we have no way of guessing what the health of the recent comers will be when they and their children have been subjected to the strain of American industry and American living conditions.

As far as race poisons go, we can confidently affirm that the new comers are not so alcoholic as the earlier groups (though here the Slavs are in question).

No adequate comparative race study has been made in regard to the prevalence of venereal disease.

The health of the industrial family is largely a matter of proper living and working conditions. Good housing, freedom from overwork, and enough money for an ample diet, are the fundamentals. Public possession of a good water supply, an adequate food inspection, provisions for quarantine in case of contagious illness, a strict administration of proper sanitary provisions and a constant educational campaign in personal hygiene on the part of the public health authorities, both in the schools and wherever else opportunity offers, are the major elements in the maintenance of a proper community health standard.

The health of the industrial family is then to be secured by a fourfold policy. (1) The elimination of race poisons; (2) The standardisation of work conditions, especially in respect to the elimination of fatigue; (3) Public insistence on and

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provision for adequate sanitation; (4) Education in personal hygiene.

The elimination of race poisons is a matter of public concern. It by no means relates solely to the life of the group of which we are treating. The part that alcohol plays in the weakening and eventual breakdown of mental and physical vigour is well known. The policies for its elimination or gradual reduction vary. Only a federal prohibition of importation and manufacture will be truly effective. State prohibition, especially in the cases where the majority in its favour is small, is bound to be something of a failure. A public policy, to retain the willing adherence of the voters, must command a large majority. The rights of the minority groups have also to be considered, but the "conscientious objector" seems less likely to make a successful issue of the doctrine of the rights of the minority in the field of health than he does in any other. The issues involved are too evidently of the gravest concern to the race to allow the doctrine of individual liberty to be seriously cherished. That which destroys race capacity is bound to be eliminated by force, irrespective of any political or philosophical theory.

Alcoholism is distributed through all economic groups, but it is natural to find it especially in the group of those whose range of pleasures is limited. People drink most who are engaged in exhausting hard work, the exertion of which brings in its train a desire for the coarser and exciting pleasures, or else it is the solace of the failures who, seeing success slip through their fingers, in their weakness seek an illusive sense of success by the use of drugs or al-

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cohol. Drinking is not so prevalent among Jews and Italians as it is among the Irish and the Slavs. The Irish cannot stand liquor well and the high rate of tuberculosis among the Irish is doubtless due largely to the extreme use of alcohol. The Slavs are also heavy drinkers, but they combine the use of liquor with other pleasures. They are more likely to have an occasional big carouse than to use a smaller amount daily — and it is the latter which is the more undermining. The effect of alcohol on the individual and the race is well known. And yet alcoholism is still treated primarily as a moral question rather than a question of preventive medicine and public health.¹ We do not place other poisons at the disposal of the public without adequate safeguards. We do not say, "Dear friends, I beg of you to forego the use of cyanide of potassium." We safeguard its sale with the greatest care. It is obvious that the moral method of persuasion or the sacrifice of individual pleasure through abstinence from the use of alcohol is ineffective. It is too slow a process, when such a great issue as race health is involved. The effective stamping out of the use of alcohol should be accompanied by a public policy of furnishing the same, but more adequate, opportunities for social life now afforded by the saloon.

The stamping out of venereal disease is of equal or greater importance. This belongs also primarily to the field of public health and policy. A united

¹ For an interesting symposium on alcoholism see the *Interstate Medical Journal*, June, 1916.

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effort to rid the community of this race poison is clearly capable of a successful outcome. A crusade here and a crusade there will not prove effective without a wider co-operation; but a national determination to obliterate venereal disease could result successfully. The ravages of syphilis form the darkest story in the consideration of public health. This is because not only is the disease terrible in itself, but it tends to the increase of insanity. The children of syphilitic parentage are so enfeebled as to be likely to become dependent. But venereal disease is not any more widely spread, as far as can be ascertained, among working people than among other classes, whereas alcoholism is more prevalent in the industrial family than in other groups. The early marriages among working people largely prevent the recourse of men to sources of infection. Venereal disease is more common among classes who defer marriage, or among those who prefer selfish pleasure to the responsibilities of home life, or who, like sailors, are deprived of home life. Moreover, the expense involved is not sought where unnecessary. Alcohol costs money; it has to be paid for to be secured. But early marriage gives a man satisfactions he does not have to seek for elsewhere. The desire for variety is not a part of the plain working man's wants.

Birth control also, with its as yet undetermined psychological effects, is not practised to any extent amongst working people of the lower economic strata. This all means that disease is uncommon. The evil, in so far as it exists in this situation, is notably the

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hard lot of the woman whose duty of conjugal obedience and frequent maternity is not questioned. An unequal lot is thereby established. The increasing determination of woman to maintain a right of the disposal of her person and an equal determination to decide as to the number of children she shall bear will undoubtedly alter the interior family relation. But women will never be able to put through a programme of personal equality unless they are economically independent. The family income makes the present content of family life a practical necessity. The fight for woman's economic freedom is the basis of a higher type of family life. Men and women are now chained to the family, the men by financial responsibility, the women by their financial dependence. This family life is the great school from which, in a rough way, discipline emerges. The man learns sacrifice of one kind and the woman of another. Virtues of loyalty and realistic wisdom are developed and it is hard to see how otherwise they could have been secured. The man's position of owner-husband becomes tempered by constant association with his wife in their social relations, and their common anxieties in regard to their children. They build up a common life based less and less on sex and more and more on other social needs. And the woman, though financially dependent, through common usage brought about by finding it to be economically effective for the family group achieves a quasi-financial independence as the holder of the family purse and the dispenser of the family income. The baldness of tyranny and dependence is changed by gradual adjustment into a passable *modus vivendi*. What the

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far-reaching effects of woman's increased freedom will be we cannot forecast, but that they will be far-reaching we can be sure.

It has been suggested that, as women become more and more self-sustaining, men will feel their responsibilities weaken and that their personal life will tend to disintegrate through promiscuity. That a certain amount of damage and waste will take place in the new adjustment will doubtless be true, as in the case of all adjustment. On the other hand women in seeking freedom are not losing, and are not going to lose, their passion for surrender. Their freedom and independence will lead to the enrichment of their personalities, and this will be perceived and valued by men. A family life based on independence and mutual free surrender will be a stronger and higher type than that based on necessity. And the training involved in acquiring this independence on the part of the woman, and the training that man will receive by his position of relative insecurity, will be the very kind of training which will make for respect, caution and purpose — the elements necessary in a more permanent union. On the way to this outcome it may be that much disaster through experimentation will take place. It is possible that public health will suffer in this transition. But it is not so likely to suffer in the case of the industrial family, for this is the most conservative group of all. There, changes in social structure take place most slowly and with the greatest difficulty. It is in other economic classes that this adjustment with its values and dangers will first take place.

As the situation is now, therefore, the health of

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the industrial family is not more subject,— and is in fact perhaps less subject — to the ravages of venereal disease,¹ than other economic groups.

It is rather to work conditions than to an examination of racial stock that we should look for a serious menace to the health of the industrial family. A glance at the insurance tables indicating the occupations where the risks of life are listed is illuminating. These occupations are such as are engaged in chiefly by the industrial family.

A study of morbidity by occupation indicates that the chief disease risks also fall heaviest on the working class.

Overwork is now believed to generate a systemic poison — the cause of fatigue.² This exhaustion undermines both individual and race efficiency and the effects are more damaging than those of many more conspicuous diseases. Rheumatism often cripples workers long before their capacity for work otherwise has declined. Work in dampness and darkness tends towards tuberculosis. Occupational diseases have received less attention in this country than they have in Europe,³ but the relation of occupation to health is now recognised to be of importance.⁴ Labour departments in the various states are being given enlarged administrative powers to improve sanitary conditions as well as to safeguard machinery,

¹ No reliable data are available on venereal disease morbidity by race or nationalities. For general information in this field see the American Social Hygiene Assn., 105 W. 40th St., N. Y. City.

² See Josephine Goldmark, "Efficiency and Fatigue."

³ See "Oliver's Dangerous Trades."

⁴ See "Occupational Diseases" by W. G. Thompson.

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but the important question of fatigue is still regarded as a matter of private contract,

The reduction of the hours of labour of men has not become a recognised public function. The limitation of the hours of labour for women has been recognised as a matter of public control on grounds of public health.¹ While it is doubtless easier to make such an argument in the case of women, on the ground of securing the health of the race, both biologists and public hygienists can claim the same argument as valid for the restriction of the hours of work for men.²

It may properly be said that a flat reduction in time spent in industry is anything but a scientific solution of the problem of the ill effects of fatigue. This is true. The number of hours worked should be graded according to the nature of the occupation, and this should be established by scientific means and administered by an impartial community board. But as this implies a much more highly developed public sense than we have as yet attained, a flat reduction in the number of hours is doubtless still a more practical object to attempt to achieve on the part of organised labour and its disinterested friends.

The immediate effect of exhaustion is the strong

¹ See Oregon case argued before the Supreme Court of the U. S. by the present Supreme Court Justice Brandeis. *Mueller v. Wilson*, 208 U. S., 412.

² Hours of labour of men are limited in many states in Transportation, Mines and Tunnels. A 10 hour law for men was enacted in Oregon in 1913. This law was sustained by the Supreme Court of Oregon as a constitutional exercise of legislative power in the *Bunting* case which was appealed and has just been upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court.

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desire for stimulants. Undoubtedly the keying up of industry, its more rapid pace, has increased the desire for excitement of all kinds. The ultimate effect of fatigue is decreased vitality and the breakdown of efficiency.

Public health is being decidedly improved in the field of general sanitation. Slums are in process of elimination. The powers of the boards of health are ample for demolition or vacation. Where our law is weak, is in the possibility of creating healthy districts by the tearing down of areas in which there is a combination of sanitary and unsanitary dwellings. The cleaning of streets and removal of garbage is being undertaken more and more conscientiously and efficiently. Better water, milk and food supplies are becoming common. Hospital and dispensary accommodations are becoming more adequate, and what is of greater importance, more popular. The fear of the hospital is diminishing, and as its use becomes more common, the hospital is regarded less and less as the house of last resort and more as an ordinary and superior way of caring for the sick. But hospital care is still nevertheless looked at askance. It is on its social side that it is weakest. The unhomelikeness of the hospital, the formality with which it is invested, the long, dreary waits in the dispensary, the sense of humiliation that seems implicit in being one of a huge, impersonal crowd, and, beyond this, the undoubted bad manners of many doormen and attendants and even internes who for example take the liberty of addressing patients by their first names, make hospitals unpopular. The hospital seems primarily to exist either for the pri-

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vate patient who can pay well, or still more for the poor who are classed as poor and treated as poor.

The hospital must acquire the same classless quality as the public school before it becomes truly loved and resorted to naturally. Public health is as desirable and necessary as public education. The public school has become the greatest institution in America because it has been classless. The institutions for public health will never reach their full usefulness till they too make an appeal to all alike.

A great hiatus in a public medical programme is the failure to segregate infection. It is now understood that whereas certain diseases are produced by conditions of work or of living, the rapid spread of communicable disease is not due to original sources but to the carrying of disease from one to another.

In the case of very markedly contagious and abhorrent diseases such as smallpox, public opinion not only tolerates but furthers isolation. All smallpox cases are removable. Boards of Health have the power of removal in other cases as well, but they hesitate to exercise this power as it would often be so unpopular as to imperil the return of the administration to power.

But a life of 19 years in tenement districts convinces me that only by the far more drastic use of the power of removal can the spread of infection be stopped. Educative measures will not suffice, not only because for new comers this is too slow and ineffective a method, but because the closeness of living quarters and the resultant total impossibility of any true isolation makes it out of the question, even with the greatest care, to maintain quarantine.

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The bad after effects from both measles and whooping cough, so often ignorantly regarded as harmless children's diseases, make it desirable that in these illnesses, also, removal should take place wherever it is evident that quarantine can not be maintained. In the case of whooping cough large cities should maintain a play-school convalescent home, where children could be sent to live until recovery.

In the case of "colds" practically no provision is made for relief or for limiting the spread of infection. In a well known department store in Boston¹ a special room has been installed with a plant for spraying the throat which employes suffering from colds use at the beginning of the infection. It is claimed that the general health of the employes is noticeably improved by this simple device. Should it be shown that this method actually decreases cold-morbidity it might well be that every school and every institution where children congregate should have such a room. The care of the tuberculous has received such special attention that the community takes for granted in its case rigid precautions, which, if not as necessary for other contagious diseases, are still desirable in proportion to the seriousness of these other diseases. Syphilis cases especially should be isolated. In the case of many an infection the period of transmitting the disease occurs unfortunately before it is possible to detect it. This is the difficulty in establishing adequate quarantine for measles or for more deadly diseases such as infantile-paralysis. But syphilis, like tuberculosis, is communicable when it is most discernible, and because of the fearful re-

¹ Filene's.

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sults of its spread, bringing as it does insanity and an increased susceptibility to other diseases in its train, it is especially necessary to isolate those afflicted with this disease.

To the field of public hygiene properly belong the social control of street cleaning, the elimination of dust, the limitation of the number of stables within city limits, or, where that is not feasible, the strictest inspection and supervision, proper sewerage, and the inspection of foods.

But the elimination of hereditary taint, the improvement of the conditions of work, especially in regard to strain, and the higher standard of the provision for adequate sanitation, are all nullified where there is inadequate attention paid to personal hygiene and where there is no real understanding of the importance of public health measures. The educational campaign in personal hygiene has its strongest leverage in the public school. The introduction of medical inspection in the public school with the follow-up work of a school nursing service marks an important step in advance. The nurse inculcates habits of personal cleanliness and standards of proper living which the children take home with them. The care of the teeth and hair and the decency of frequent bathing become a matter of personal interest and pride. The abolition of the common drinking cup and the roller towel in the school tends to displace these horrors from the homes. The school health work may roughly be divided into the physical-structural work and the routine care. The original diagnosis discloses what is necessary to be done as to tonsils, adenoids, eyes, teeth and all or-

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ganic troubles. The routine care involves an education as to care of hair, eyes, throat, teeth, with especial emphasis on daily attention to general bodily health; the open window, change of clothing at night, daily bathing, and washing of the hands before meals, the use of the tooth-brush, the extermination of vermin, and the great value of a regular hour for going to bed and regular hours for meals. All this can be and should be a vital part of a child's education. The general standards of healthful living are far more widely understood and practised than they were a generation ago. For the most part, the mothers of the tenements take great care of their children's hair. This has been accelerated by the strict regulations of fresh air agencies which properly refuse to take children with unclean heads. It is the habit of mothers to wash all the children Saturday afternoon or night, and through the installation of public baths and baths in the schools more frequent thorough bathing is encouraged. Teeth are neglected, and their care should be made a part of the regular compulsory curriculum. This is equally true with the care of tonsils and adenoids. But while the care of the teeth may be attended to at schools, the care of the throat should devolve upon the hospitals, as alarm at any kind of operation is so extreme among parents that it may not be well to saddle the school with this psychological handicap.

In those cities where even an approximately adequate school medical inspection is practised the physical condition of the school children gives very real occasion for alarm. Practically all children have something the matter with them. And adequate care

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costs money. In the care of the eyes, glasses are a heavy expense item. By whom should this be borne? There is of course no difference in principle between the payment by society for school books or for eye-glasses. But the largely increased cost of socialised medical care for children frightens the taxpayers. The cry of socialism goes up and the burden of final enforcement of the health requirements for children is left to the parents.

This is often leaving enforcement to the very groups least able or willing to follow up the directions. The education of the parent is good. It is necessary. But the health of the coming workers and citizens is of greater importance to the nation than the education of the parents. School children should receive adequate medical care. An attempt may properly be made to make the parents bear the burden. If they fail to do so, society would better pay the bill than leave the work undone. The efficiency of school health care would be greatly heightened if a time limit were given the parents' co-operation, at the end of which time it would be taken for granted that the parents could not or would not see to the carrying out of instructions and the schools would then be free to take the initiative. The power of the school medical authorities should be extended to include all children, whether they attend public or private schools, an option being given the parents to place their children in the hands of their own physicians or surgeons before the expiration of the time limit.

Another item in health education that should receive more general attention is the teaching of sex

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hygiene. How this can best be done is still not clear. Certainly a negative, inhibitive teaching amounts to little. To warn young people of the evil effects of immoral living is not effective. Young men do fear disease and young women public disgrace, but these motives are not powerful enough to stem the tide of passion. Where these motives are dominant, the next consideration will be likely to be how to practise indulgence with the least danger. Only positive interests will avail as a permanent bulwark. Prostitutes are not recruited from among women who have ardent intellectual or social interests. The strong trade-unionist girl, or the girl interested in the political independence of women, is not the girl who will yield to temptation. And the boy of ambition and strong ideals inculcated by religion, social interest, or intellectual taste, is far less likely to lead a life of physical self-indulgence than the boy of weaker, softer fibre without these higher ambitions. The best education in sex hygiene, then, is the creation of positive and attractive higher interests. But it is also valuable to realise the place sex holds in life. Nature study should include as a matter of course a simple study of sex. The attraction of the mysterious and the unknown will thereby be eliminated or so lessened as to be free from danger. Undoubtedly private instruction is more readily received in this field than general instruction to large groups. The mother is supposed to be the best teacher of her children on sex matters. But observation seems to confirm the suspicion that mothers are generally the last to feel this responsibility or, even where they feel it, to meet it.

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Romantic love is largely a product of civilisation. Only where the range of imagination has become enlarged through the intellect and a certain amount of privacy has been obtained through economic security can romance emerge. There is no word capable of so many meanings as the word love. In the groups where want is felt and where the opportunity for attending school, for reading, and for association with others who have had similar enlarged opportunities has been very limited, the sex attraction is bald. Self-sacrifice and devotion may be combined with sex attraction and through association loyalties are developed and a powerful family and class feeling established. But that which is associated with the name of romantic love, the glamour of life, is of brief duration under the withering influences of want, of lack of privacy, and more than all, of no opportunity for leisure. There is little time to spend in the cultivation or contemplation of all those subtle aspects of life which help romance along. The women, while they wish their daughters to marry as the natural fulfilment of their destiny, regard marriage as decidedly a problematical good. If they could see their daughters free from financial anxiety they would often prefer that they should not marry. The husband is regarded as provider, tyrant, pride and danger. To be husbandless is to cast a reflection on the attractiveness of a woman. But the "good husband" is par excellence the good provider, the steady man, who brings his wages home and gives them to his wife. That is all that is expected of him. To expect him as well to entertain his family, to take them out, to be the friend of his children and the

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companion of his wife, is to be a bit too ambitious. And yet the father who after his heavy work assumes this character of social leadership and comradeship as well, is not uncommon. On Sundays, however, occurs practically his only chance. The Sunday family outings are a strain on the nerves and the pocketbook, but responsible parents often keep this up till the children are grown, when the young people are more likely to go off by themselves and the parents are glad to stay at home and rest.

Romance then exists and perhaps more widely than is suspected, for disaster is far more likely to be known than the quietness of happiness. But romance has a poor chance to flourish where the conditions of life provide so little of leisure or beauty. The more heroic aspects of love, self-sacrifice, loyalty, honor, hard work — all to maintain family pride, unity, and self-respect, are often particularly conspicuous in the group we are considering. The mother does not talk with her children about sex, for to her the whole of life is fate, work and closely-knit loyalty. She feels that, though the burdens of sex are grievous, they are inevitable and that all talk is vain. Then, too, she hesitates to break in on innocence, for to her sex is not beautiful, it is fate. As in all primitive groups the bride is thought of as a sacrifice, so does the mother think of her daughter's future, and she would keep the knowledge of sacrifice from her. From the sacrifice of the innocent to the self-surrender of equals is a long road.

We must then rely on the schools for teaching what should be taught. This instruction, coming as it does from a group with a more complex psychologi-

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cal background, will help to elevate the general ideas in regard to sex. No instruction, however, will be as effective as to the presentation of powerful and positive ideals. The religious and social ideals, appealing to the highest interests and desires and calling forth the most strenuous energy, leave little room for the development of the lower passions which feed on idleness.

Such an impetus to an impaired public health as may come from sex education will be attained, then, more potently by a flank, than by a direct, method.

Health education is invaluable in many fields. The infant-care campaign has shown good results. With the increased number of married women in industry, breast-feeding has been more and more largely supplemented, where not supplanted, by artificial feeding. The proper method of making up infants' food formulas has been so largely advertised and demonstrated through clinics, private agencies and the activities of health boards, that countless babies' lives have been saved. Breast-feeding is in general so superior to all other methods that the infant-care campaign should now extend to the protection of the nursing mother from engaging in occupations which oblige her to substitute other food for her baby than breast-milk. Nursing mothers should be regarded by the State as of sufficient value to it to protect them during the nursing period. This should be a matter of legislation. Education is still necessary in regard to other aspects of infant care. Mothers still give their babies supplementary feedings which cause serious illness: coffee, bananas, cookies. The establish-

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ment of health depots and centres to give special instruction in infant care is invaluable.

Old superstitions which militate against good health still abound. The fear of open windows and night-air is still prevalent. Nothing gives one such a stifling feeling as to walk down any street at night and see every window tightly shut. The wearing of amulets to keep away disaster of any kind is still common. Sometimes this takes a semi-medical form, as in the case of the lump of camphor hanging around the neck, so common during the prevalence of infantile paralysis. Faith in patent medicines is still naïvely common, and the bottle of medicine in general receives an undue reverence. Visitors are asked to smell and taste the medicine with an idea of securing approval or disapproval. Faith in medicines is only one door removed from faith in charms. Its importance is distinctly out of focus. The relation of magic to health would be interesting to trace from the days of the original medicine man to the methods of Christian Science. Always the medicine man and the priest have had subtle elements in common. But notwithstanding the large admixture of superstition this relationship of medicine bears to spiritual energy, we are not so likely to discard it as to try to understand it. Certainly the control of the mind over the body increases as mental energy concentrates. Public and personal hygiene plus mental concentration and interest leave a decreasingly significant place for the field of medication.

The relation of diet to health is not less well understood by the industrial family than by any other group. On the whole each race group has

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naturally worked out a fairly satisfactory dietary — a really balanced ration. The Italian cheese, macaroni and salad — the German sausage, bread and cabbage, the Jewish kosher meat, bread and fruit, all are good and nutritious combinations. It is only when the diets worked out in homogeneous communities come in contact with other diets, and especially with the American love of sweets, that a deterioration in dietaries takes place. The work of the domestic science teacher is not to supplant but to maintain the dietaries worked out by experience. If each group can be taught to maintain its own dietary and then enrich it by appropriate additions from the groups of others, a happy result will ensue.

Every person, boy as well as girl, should know the principles of a balanced ration and should realise the evil effects of a whole starch or whole meat or other proteid diet. Especially where occupations are sedentary is this necessary. Women doing housework get exercise of one kind but they do not have time, or, for the most part interest, for walking or any athletic pursuit, and the result is that they become heavier than is good for them and so age before their time. I remember at a neighbourhood party at the Settlement one evening noticing the apparent difference in age between the neighbourhood mothers and the settlement residents. The latter looked young, brisk, animated. The neighbourhood mothers looked old and stodgy. But I discovered that, as a matter of fact, the neighbourhood women were really by several years younger than the settlement residents! Of course the neighbours had had harder work. They had gone through childbirth

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many times, and the residents, with few exceptions, were unmarried; they had washed, iron, scrubbed, cooked, mended and been the centre of all the intimate life of a family living closely together. They had had therefore to endure friction which people living under more spacious conditions can run away from. The neighbours had had no opportunities for or interest in exercise. The residents all had engaged in some kind of sport, swimming, tennis, basket ball, riding. The neighbours' interests were intensely personal and local. The residents' interests had been aerated by a larger understanding of a more varied life.

All these elements together make age. It is not the number of years lived. But even under the hard circumstances which beset the woman of the industrial family, youth (and that is another way of saying health) can be kept. It should be sought as persistently and positively as the negative aim of getting rid of disease is now sought. How can it be attained under the stress of poverty? Only by a different organisation of home work. Part time work at home, and part time in industry, would probably help. This would break up the monotony of home life and bring in a fresh impetus to use labour saving devices. The use of hospitals at childbirth, or of more adequate home care, should be followed by a period of convalescence away from home. This is difficult to manage, but it can be done and there are now institutions which help ¹ with this need. For women who can afford to pay board, there might

¹ E. g. Convalescent Home, Hartsdale, N. Y. of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

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be made up a list of recommended places. A maternity pension plan might well be worked out to secure such holidays. The use of fireless cookers, vacuum cleaners and other labour-saving devices is prohibitive except with a greater degree of organisation. Tenement houses should be built with this idea of household organisation as its central motive. Children's clothing could be vastly simplified. A worsted union undergarment (easily washed and needing no ironing) and a one piece dress is enough for any young girl. And there is no reason why all children, boys as well as girls, could not be taught to wash and iron their own clothes. In the whole-time play-and-work school there could well be introduced this feature. The rough dry work laundries do it so inexpensively (and underclothing can be made of material that does not need ironing) that a woman could, by engaging in some lucrative half time occupation, well afford to have the heavier part of her laundry work done outside.

If the longer processes of cooking are eliminated from the home (baking and roasting), the cooking of meals is simplified. The use of the fireless cooker would help to enable a woman to spend a part of her time outside her home in other work. Women should also be encouraged to engage in sports. At present it is hardly considered "ladylike" or suitable for young girls to go in for athletics. The conservatism of the industrial family is here, as everywhere, more marked than in other groups. But when the mothers see what fun, pleasure and benefit their daughters get from basket ball and other sports, they are sometimes fired with zeal themselves to get out of

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the rut of their existence. To encourage athletics for older women under medical direction would fend off old age wonderfully. Vanity is not so common among women of this group as among richer women. It is harder to get in motion their ambition to reduce their weight for this reason. Life assumes a finished form at an early date. Why bother about one's appearance further? But what is hardly worth an individual effort may be induced by association and competition. Clubs for weight reduction have been found useful. But just as the principal safeguard for morality is positive interest, so the best way of keeping young is to have fresh interests. The arousing of women from the feeling that life is done is the principal task. And it is here that the great importance of political expression for women comes in. When they can see their own every-day concerns placed in a larger light, then they realise that they are of importance, for the interest in a voter is perennial! When they see that their work is not done when they have concluded their daily family round, then new life pours in, and that means their youth is renewed. The old woman is she who is already half dead. The young woman is she who is alert and interested. This means an intellectual interest. Some one may suggest that these women have no intellectual interests. This can never be known without trial. Present the interest and see how it works. Intellectual capacity varies from person to person, not from class to class. The women will respond, if the stimulus is properly presented.

Another element that makes for ill health is the irregularity of the daily routine. Meals are served

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with especial reference to the father. Generally the children eat breakfast later than the father. The mid-day meal is at the hour when the children come home from school, or, if the mother is out at work, the children are given pennies to buy their lunch. When the father returns supper is served and this is the hearty meal of the day. Children are given pennies frequently with which to buy candy. With bread and coffee for breakfast, and with a luncheon purchased from a push-cart or candy store, dependence has to be placed on the evening meal for the chief daily sustenance. This, even where it is a good meal, is generally served so late that small children, sleeping two or three in a bed and with insufficient ventilation, develop indigestion. Regularity in personal habits is not insisted upon. Regular times for brushing teeth, washing hair, going to the dentist, exercise, meals and going to bed are difficult to enforce. The school can help to regulate the child's life, with the exception of meals and sleep, for exercise and play are a part of the child's rights that the public is now securing. Now that lunches are being served in the schools, the child need no longer rely on the precarious and haphazard luncheon at home or purchased from the nearby stand or store. It was feared by many that the school luncheon would suggest to the thrifty mother cutting down the home supply of food — but this is too logical a fear. The school lunch costs no more than what is generally allowed the child to spend. The child simply gets better food for his money.

Regularity is one of those elements in healthful life that can be maintained without an increased in-

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come. A better dietary, as we have pointed out, is not so much needed, as the maintenance of dietaries already known through group experience. A healthy family life depends largely on its interior organisation. If the mother is firm and strong, and if the father supports her in maintaining order and system, things go right, otherwise shipwreck ensues. The mother in the industrial family has no right to be ill or to die. If she goes, the family disintegrates. The woman makes the family or lets it drift to inefficiency. The woman's energy, power and interest are of the first importance to her family, and hence to the group and through that group to the nation. The immense importance of conserving the energy of women is beginning to be understood to be a social duty. Women with an insufficient education, a too early industrial life, subject to physical exhaustion in industry, cannot be expected to be efficient mothers, insistent upon regularity and discipline, and in every way competent housewives. We cannot help seeing therefore that these problems of health, education, and industry all hang together. They cannot be separated. They are varying elements in a social programme which involves the organisation of all our resources and the development of all our personal and social energies.

CHAPTER VIII

POVERTY

Poverty is a relative term, dependent for its meaning upon the standard of living. Thus we speak of the poor college professor who with his tastes and associations must manage to exist on an income far less than that of the good artisan. But this poor professor seems rich to the workingman, because his manners and customs, though not his expenditures, are those of the rich. Nor is anxiety an indication of poverty, for the college professor again is an example of a man living in anxiety lest he shall be unable to give his children those advantages their status calls for. Nor is a sense of security a guarantee of freedom from poverty, for there are happy, careless people who do not feel the weight of the future. But we have seen in our brief summary of the standard of living that though poverty may be a relative term, we can fix with a reasonable degree of accuracy the sum which is required as a minimum income of a family of five in crowded American cities as \$1000 to \$1200. This sum insures a healthful life with a little margin. This sum will differ from one decade to another and from one region to another, but to-day this is the sum below which we can roughly say that people are living in poverty.

What proportion of the industrial family is living

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below this sum? That is, how extensive is poverty as measured by this standard?¹ We can only say that until the oldest child becomes an earner, the largest part of the working class in large cities is in poverty.² These poor are only to a very small degree "dependent," that is, they apply neither for public nor private relief. They are tided over difficult places by relatives and friends now and then, but for the most part they are living below the standard which is necessary for their proper maintenance. In one or the other of the percentages of expenditure in the family budget there is a shortage. If not in food, it is in shelter. If not in shelter, it is in clothing. People are generally their own best judges as to where this shortage can best be placed. It falls in New York City most often on shelter. As rents are so high and, as we have seen, a disproportionate amount of the family budget has to go to rent, the natural result is that fewer rooms are occupied than are necessary for a proper standard of living or that the rooms used are still more intensively occupied by taking in boarders and lodgers.

The poor man is right who decides that overcrowding is to be preferred to insufficient food. On approaching the \$1000 income overcrowding may exist with no malnutrition, but in the lower income groups the rental absorbs so disproportionate a share of the

¹ In the United States Industrial relations commission (p. 325 *Survey*, Dec. 18, 1915), it is pointed out that two per cent. of U. S. population own 60 per cent. of its wealth; the middle-class (33 per cent.) own 35 per cent.; the poor (65 per cent.) own 5 per cent.

² "Wealth and Income of the People of the United States," by Wilfred King, concludes that 82 per cent. of the families in the United States received in 1910 less than \$1200 each.

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income that malnutrition is the necessary result. I have but to recall a family with whom Greenwich House has been well acquainted for many years, a family that has never sought nor received aid. The Italian father is an assistant barkeeper, earning \$12 a week. The wife has ample occupation in the entire care of her seven children and aged father and mother who live with them. The oldest child is the only one of working age and he is a helper in a wig-making establishment at \$4 a week. The grandfather and grandmother make artificial flowers at home, which helps to pay for their own maintenance but which does not do so wholly: \$16 + therefore is the weekly income for this group of eleven. The thrifty Italian mother does not need Chapin or More to tell her how much she must spend in food to keep her big brood strong. She knows that she cannot spend that amount unless she gets rooms at a low rental. The family of eleven therefore occupy three rooms. Averse to using the middle room, the kitchen, as a sleeping room, they all occupy at night the parlour and bedroom. Grandfather and grandmother, the little wig-maker and two small brothers occupy the front room, the father, mother and baby and one other the bed in the bedroom, another the sofa, and Lizzie sleeps on two chairs. The rent is \$12 a month. By means of this overcrowding the family is enabled to spend enough for food. The result is a devitalisation caused by bad air. The problem of poverty in cities is thus vitally associated with the problem of congestion. In groups whose income falls below the amount necessary to maintain the family in decency and in such a way as to allow the family to become

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a social asset, it is evident that the standard must break down somewhere.

In the higher income groups it breaks at the point of desirable recreation and amusement. Naturally, all extras are cut out first. A cut is disastrous that involves the loss of insurance or less attractiveness in the personal appearance on which the getting and keeping of employment so largely depends. So the real and substantial cut takes place in the food or rent budget. The pinch generally takes the form of overcrowding rather than malnutrition, and overcrowding is therefore primarily due to poverty. Though congestion is partially and possibly largely removable by means of increased rapid transit, improved housing conditions with restrictions on the amount of space per person that may be occupied, and the development of taxation by which the community is in control of land values, yet a residuum of congestion, and this far from negligible, will remain as long as the family income does not allow of adequate space in which to live. The real trouble with the poor is, therefore, primarily poverty. And to get rid of poverty is an obvious task of a decent democracy.

Poverty is due in some measure to a variety of causes, to ill health, to lack of education, to personal defects, and to lack of access to land and capital. The first three of these are often themselves more due to poverty than poverty is due to them. Society is, however, establishing rough standards of health and education and personal character below which it will not allow persons to live in society. We segregate the sick and instal more effective public hygienic

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methods, we demand that every one shall get a minimum of education and we retire from society those whose personal characteristics are of so anti-social a character as to render them a social menace. These standards are often pitifully low. We segregate from smallpox, but are careless in regard to other more general and baneful diseases. We educate a person to just that point which may enable one to exist, but we do not provide for that extended education which would enable the individual to reach his highest development. We segregate the man who steals, but let the alcoholic or prostitute go free.

But, though still elementary, the conception of a standard or level below which we are unwilling to have free citizens of a free republic live is emerging. Often the State simply segregates those who fall below a given standard of morals or health, but, especially in matters that may be classed under the general heading of public health, there is coming into being the idea of a positive rather than a negative standard, a conception of society's duty to create healthy citizens rather than merely to segregate the physically unfit. The positive standards of education, health and recreation are becoming insistent.

More important is a wage standard. An income insufficient to meet the needs of the individual or the family is as potent to reduce that person or group to the plane of the sub-social as is ill health, an inferior education, or anti-social personal habits. An income standard is a social necessity in just the sense and for precisely the same reason as is a cubic air space standard. The sick person, the vicious person, we recognise as a social

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parasite, one who undermines the social structure. This is equally true of those persons or groups who are existing on a sub-normal income. It is they who compete so disastrously with those who have climbed into comfort, and pull them down. These people on the margin are a true social menace. The elimination of this group would mean the rapid rise of the working class with its claims to an increasing share of profit. But it is because this group does weigh down the normal, rising working class that there is so little desire to see it eliminated. As soon as enough people see the importance of a living wage to be equal and similar to that of public health, the training of the industrially unfit, the segregation of the industrially hopeless, and the establishment of a minimum wage will become as much a part of a social and hence, eventually, political, programme as is the fight against tuberculosis.

That poverty is a demonstrable evil is evident to any modern. What it really means to those who live in it is another matter not so plain. As a disease affects given groups or persons in different ways, so poverty is subjectively endured with quite different emphasis. What poverty always does mean, with all its variations, is this, that it reduces life to its lowest terms. It reveals its naked anatomy. And it is this which has so confused the issue as to make many think of poverty as in itself desirable, so sharply defined have become some of the most beautiful things of life, lived in the high, unrelieved light of poverty. For down at bed rock the finest and the lowest find themselves interlocked. Sincerity and simplicity blossom where there is no opportunity nor

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social reason in pretence. But suspicion towards the world outside, and fear, deprive the poor of that careless independence of spirit that we associate with the word "gentleman." Ever dependent, the poor man can never really be the free citizen.

The simplicity of poverty is quite a different thing from the simplicity of economic independence. The economically independent man may camp out, so to speak, in simplicity, but he knows he can break up camp, and it is that subconscious knowledge that enables him to enjoy the experience. The simplicity that is married to freedom is not open to the poor. Overwork, anxiety, suspicion, lack of escape, make the poor man's simplicity a prison. A real simplicity means electricity, labour-saving devices, leisure and mental resource. Simplicity means escape. The poor man cannot escape.

Discontent, supposed to be the by-product of poverty, is felt decreasingly as the income group sinks. At the bottom is dissipation, indifference or despair, but rarely discontent, which presupposes strength and hope. In any case discontent is rarely powerful when centred on one's own fortunes.

It is where opportunity is not open to the children, that the deepest distress is felt. Not to be able to "lay by" something may cause pain to a man, not to "have things right" may distress a woman, but not to be able to save a sick child by sending it to the country, not to be able to keep a brilliant son at school, not to be able to keep the pretty daughter at home — it is these things that eat into the heart. Provide an adequate "education" in the new sense for the child and the most poignant sting of poverty

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would be gone. A system of industry whereby a child's education could be continued, and where the strain would not be too heavy, would allay the deepest anxiety.

We classify people as "rich," as "educated," as "insane," as "evangelical." In this sense the "poor" make also a class. Unconscious of their common lot, those whose income falls below the standard form a class in a very true sense. Those who are above this economic level may be classified in many ways, but without economic significance. The real proletariat is this sub-group. But, as in the case of the groups instanced, it is far from being "conscious." The consciousness of economic class solidarity is felt far more keenly, when at all, by groups in the safer economic strata.

It is important that the group living below the standard should become "conscious" of that which makes it a class. This is a prerequisite for getting rid of dependence. Emancipation never comes wholly from without. The dirty man must take his own bath, the student must learn his own lesson. The poor must get rid of their poverty by organisation, by uniting against the encroachments of privilege, by insisting on a prolonged period of education, on better work conditions, on greater opportunity of leisure and upon the development of social insurance which will take away the deepest anxiety in regard to accident, sickness, old age and lack of employment.

Unfortunately poverty is still not popularly perceived to be an evil in itself. The attitude of both public and private bodies whose duty it is to face and meet this problem indicates the feebleness of our

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present position. Our departments of public charities still lay their emphasis on the curative side with their almshouses, lodging houses and hospitals, with the work house in reserve for the vagrant. While the departments of charities are the departments ostensibly dealing with the problem of poverty, it is the departments of education and health, parks and tenement houses that are doing the constructive work. But it is not the recognised business of any one department to develop a programme for the abolition of poverty. While modern cities are slowly evolving a health programme and an educational programme, the city has not yet evolved a programme in which the income standard is the central consideration. The department of public charities might perhaps be the natural centre from which such a programme might emanate.

The classic position of private charitable societies, though of late years under constant fire, still remains intact in general outline. The generous man, the woodyard test, the church's sewing societies, the bracing up of the poor by friendly visiting, the multiplication of hospitals, the friendly offices of the politician, all these make a potpourri of more or less constructive effort confused in purpose and often clashing in the working out.

The poor themselves are also bound by certain fixed, classic, views of charity. The raffle for which the neighbours buy tickets of a gold watch for the benefit of the widow, the theatrical benefit, the club benefit ball, the house to house collection — these have the same note of ratified custom. For in general the poor think about poverty as others do.

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They are not so likely to emphasise personal defects as causes of poverty, for knowledge of the facts keeps them from erring in this direction, but there is still a naïve confidence in thrift. And when illness or accident occurs that wipes away savings, it is credited to hard luck rather than to any preventable cause. Even the thrifty will, on occasions, be venturesome enough to "blow in" a goodly amount for a wedding, realising that money is for use and that to save it all up for the more dismal uses associated with death is to take the heart out of the incentive to work. The Slavs and Hungarians, good savers in general, hold to this really rational point of view. "I'm going to give my child a good wedding if it costs me \$75" is a frequent expression. A sense of proportion is born of the justified conviction that it is impossible to accumulate much money. The question then resolves itself into this — how can I best spend my earnings? There is, of course, no saving in the lower income groups, but, where choice enters at all, it is undesirable that a bank account should take the place of nutritious meals or needed recreation. It is the pitiful attempt to save that in the lower income groups works such havoc, accentuating over-crowding, malnutrition, and a cramped life in general. The independence or pride which hopes by saving to be able to tide over the evil day is not so valuable from a social point of view as the expenditure of the same money in daily food and vitalising pleasures.

Fatalism and recklessness, as far as they exist among the poor, are due largely to the growing understanding that thrift is either foolish or inade-

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quate. Supplement thrift with insurance, and hope and elasticity would spring up. A feeling of hopelessness is in itself demoralising. It brings about a deep scepticism that colours the whole of life. An ardent young suffragist, tackling a seasoned Irish woman whose long life of struggle was ending with small reward, learned wisdom in presenting her cause from this reply to her pleading —“Another sure cure for the poor, is it?” She had seen them all fail. When one is conscious of having done the best that is possible, when one has worked hard every day and then at the end sees that struggle go for nothing, it is then that either scepticism sets in, or else a hard-won gallant faith. The relativism of the cultivated and the well-to-do is a by-product of luxury. Safe from attack, one can hesitate and speculate. But when on hard pan, thought takes on a sterner fashion. One may give up the fight as hopeless or absurd. The by-product of this attitude is what we call vice, dissipation or shiftlessness, as the case may be. Or else one may refuse to believe that this can be a permanent state and then one acquires faith. Faith may be faith in a good God and a future life. In this case we have the mystic of the tenement who, like many mystics of all times, postpones to another world that which he despairs of here. Or he may be a socialist, which roughly means the man who believes that life here on earth will be turned into something worth while in the natural order of events. Personal effort on the part of the poor is so wholly engrossed in the daily task that there really is little room or time for the conception of religion or social change to take on anything but a passive form. To

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bring anything to pass except the daily task is asking too much. Thus mysticism or socialism are the almost necessary by-products of over-work unless the over-work tends to dissipation or despair. The task of actual social reconstruction demands time and energy not at the disposal of the mass of working people. But universal suffrage is the powerful weapon by which when faith gets transmuted into politics the hope for the future can get kneaded into the present. The value of socialism lies not in its dogmas, which suffer the usual fate of dogmas, but in its hatred of poverty, its appreciation of the social damage it causes and in its hope for its abolition. It is not till recently that there has been a consensus of opinion outside the ranks of socialists as to the necessity of doing away with poverty itself. With the growth of this view the attack on poverty comes from every quarter. The growing self-consciousness of the working class is aided by the flank movements that come from those interested in the new education, in public health and in adequate leisure and recreation. The flank movements are part of the whole movement which is infinitely larger than any socialist party, charity organisation, or trade union. For what is taking place is that democracy is getting in earnest about itself. A true democracy cannot co-exist with the maintenance of standards below which it is unwilling that its citizens should fall. The business of this generation and the next is to recognise and establish standards of health, education, leisure and income. The citizens of that time from that securer base will then be in a position to effect such further

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changes as they may at that time be able to work out.

While the poor, as a class, have no definite programme of escape from their lot, they have a suspicion of those who are attempting to better it. The charity worker finds the poor on the defensive. To say little is always safe. The poor cannot help asking themselves, "Is this friendly visitor really friendly?" "Does she tell me about herself as she wants me to tell about myself?"

The very nature of friendship is to be on an equal plane. Where there is anything unequal or unknown, friendship cannot exist. Friendship means a willingness to give all one has. One is not grateful for left-overs. To be a beneficiary or a dependent may indeed involve gratitude, but it certainly does not necessarily bring about confidence. The poor realise that those who bring them help are in fact not one with them in their desires nor do they share their deepest convictions. The employer, who breaks up the union which attempts to gain a higher wage, cannot be expected to establish a permanent relation of mutual confidence by sending groceries in time of illness. Friendship involves a common attitude toward life at the bottom. The poor will not trust a charity that is not based on a mutual relationship of confidence. Until charity can give as candid and satisfactory assurances in regard to the maintenance of a standard of income as it does in regard to standards of health, education and recreation, it will lie under the ban of suspicion.

This fact is recognised by leading philanthropists

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of the modern kind,¹ and adequate relief is insisted upon as essential to any modern charitable policy. It is here, however, that work with individual families breaks down. Adequate relief is manifestly impracticable. To furnish families who, through social causes alone, have sunk below the standard with adequate relief is not possible. Adequate remedies belong to the slow process of social reconstruction.

Private charity, which once occupied such a large undifferentiated field, is now yielding to specialised effort which is rapidly falling under communal administration. The development of special classes in schools, of departments of health, of farm colonies and the probation system, shows the modern public consciousness of meeting social needs. Private charity becomes more and more inadequate and public charity is losing itself in other departments. Charitable effort is daily becoming more a work of promotion, to get society as a whole to realise and meet its needs. The two most important things to be noted in connection with this transformation are, first, that during the transition period it is cruelty to neglect those who are suffering, and therefore private charity is still needed, and, second, that society, in adequately performing its new tasks, cannot do them without vast resources which are obtainable only through increased taxation.

That society as yet realises its responsibilities in but the most embryonic way is evidenced by the unwillingness of the taxpayer to meet a higher tax-rate. We are more and more insistent upon good schools, adequate transit facilities, plenty of parks

¹ See "Efficient Relief." E. T. Devine.

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and playgrounds, increased efficiency in administration, more adequate factory inspection, but these things cannot be had for nothing. They will cost vast sums. We try to evade the problem by insistence upon saving. We declare that if our city administrations were less extravagant and more efficient, we would be in a position to make these necessary expenditures. In this emphasis on efficiency, without at the same time indicating our needs and the amount necessary to meet them, we are disingenuous. A business man applying this one-sided method to his business would never be called efficient. The business man has a plan. He knows what he wants and proceeds to get it. Our social life is feeble in plan. It is in fact almost planless. If we are in earnest about the problem of poverty in our cities, we would present, without, indeed, any immediate hope for adoption, a budget that indicates just what it would cost to meet our social needs, and then we would proceed to indicate how the money could be secured to meet these needs and, finally, educate the public to be willing to pay these bills.

We do not keep house; we live from hand to mouth. Many support a municipal programme of a progressive nature whose support would disappear at once, if it became clear that saving waste was only a drop in the bucket toward the payment of bills necessary to effect that programme.

The honest and the businesslike thing to do is to educate people to pay for social needs through proper taxation. It is a curious indication of our low stage of social development that, while we are afraid the springs of human benevolence and kindness may

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dry up unless we are consciously doing good by means of private charity, we are very much afraid of effectively doing good through public taxation. Let no one for a moment suppose that opportunities for real friendliness will cease when the larger social needs are met by taxation. There will then be room to emphasise the higher forms of friendly helpfulness untrammelled by a relation of one-sided dependence.

Poverty in our cities is to be met in the first place through establishing the standard of life which the community sets as desirable. Raising the standard is an expense that must largely fall upon society through taxation. The study of taxation thus becomes the first duty of the modern statesman, and the education of the taxpayer the first duty of the reformer.

CHAPTER IX

POLITICS

At every turn the poor are disadvantaged. By the poor we mean, as we have said, those who are living below that standard of life which is essential at this time in American cities to keep the family and maintain it as a social asset. Disadvantaged by the brevity of education, by the overcrowding necessitated by a low income, by limitations in the choice of occupations, by lack of normal opportunities for health and leisure, the low income groups are hard pressed.

While the poor live this life of disadvantage, the most important question for us to ask is what relation does the problem of poverty bear to democracy, not from the point of view of the poor, but of the nation. What reaction upon America does the city industrial family make? It is common to hear people voice a scepticism in regard to the possible success of democracy on the ground that universal suffrage is fraught with danger, including as it does the votes of the ignorant and the criminal. The identification of the poor with these undesirable classes is offensive. But it is not possible to venture this opinion with any claim to consideration without study of the actual political qualities of the city's population.

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In the first place, fear and distrust of the unknown are marks of this as of every group. The loyalty which makes of the industrial family the strongest type of family we possess, the limited number of relationships which vastly intensifies those that do exist, apply of course to political life as well. The qualities of friendship and loyalty and the emphasis in the political programme on some element which looms as subjectively important, make up the base of the industrial family's political outlook. The political organisation which most vividly embodies this attitude is the appealing one. The idea of a "business administration" of the city makes but a slight appeal to the mass of voters, who know little of "business," and for whom the ideas of efficiency as interpreted by a new industrialism are a pure abstraction, quite unrelated to those realities which exist for the workmen who are but tools in the modern industrial world. To run the city as one would one's own business is an ideal understood by the business man. It may thrill him, but it cannot be expected to attract a group for whom this specialised idea of efficiency either does not exist or else would be a mockery. The political ideal that appeals to the mass of city voters is that of an organisation of like minded loyal friends who will all work for one another. It is a limited ideal, it is true, but in so far as it goes it is real, social and sound. The trouble with this point of view is that its by-product is graft. Friendship, if really practical, connotes helpfulness. Friendship in power means help to supporters. The by-product of the ideal of efficiency on the other hand is bureaucratic separatism, a belief in the expert few, politi-

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cally snobbish in essence and dangerous in its lack of humility and its proneness to substitute for daily experience an academic conception of what ought to be. These two views of efficiency and of loyalty, while not theoretically mutually exclusive, in fact are of such different temper that on election day they are to be found in different political camps. To attempt to substitute either of these values for the other is to suffer social loss. In our complex world more and more organising itself, efficiency must exist, otherwise a breakdown ensues. There is a technique of political life increasingly important. But this technique must get itself translated into popular language if it is to be successful. How can we tinge the ideal of efficiency with emotion? The growth of the efficiency ideal has included the centralisation of power. It has seemed impossible to introduce good municipal administration without such centralisation, but this process has taken place at the expense of the education of the voter. To develop a perfect machine is a contradiction in terms in a democracy. The perfect machine is inherently doomed. An efficiency that is unrelated to the vigorous criticism of the man on the street will cease to be efficient in proportion to its remoteness. The fact that local administration is found to be weak and ineffective is far from indicating that local organised political interest is undesirable.

The framers of the New York City Charter, for example, realised this in theory when they made provision for what are called "local improvement boards." These boards represent certain local improvement districts and on each board sit the three

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aldermen of the district together with the Borough President. The idea was that thus there would be a connecting link between the local and the central. The charter provides that certain matters should be first acted on by the local improvement board before coming up for action before the Board of Estimate. In practice, however, the power of the board of aldermen has been so curtailed and the individual aldermen are so slight a part of the political machinery that the local improvement boards exist scarcely more than in name. This provision of the New York Charter is instanced as indicating that it is dimly understood how important is the mutual relation of local and central. Without an ever fresh interest at the bottom, political life can not be genuinely democratic.

The old municipal political machinery was a federation of ward politics. The local school trustees had real power, the local alderman was a real king, jobs were passed out to the favoured friends. This intensely local government was bound to be both inefficient and corrupt. As a reaction, we have committed American cities to the policy of eliminating local authority and of placing the responsibility upon the central council or the mayor, or of vesting all authority in a commission. This tendency is likely to be increasingly emphasised. It makes for efficiency. In the meantime it has left city neighbourhoods shorn of political interest. The extension of the civil service leaves fewer favours to be granted, the reduction of the powers of aldermen leaves the district leaders with little that is tangible to support their leadership. Politics which have

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ceased to be tangibly useful have ceased to exist at all. How to translate the older and crasser ideas of utility into the newer ideal of common welfare is the task of the new political leader. At heart the old ward politics rested upon a far deeper and more important principle than that of efficiency. The old ward politics were based upon the implicit dogma that politics means definite values received and given. How to live together most joyfully and most advantageously is the task of politics. To the poor man the only avenue to such a life is through work. There is nothing therefore sordid in getting a good job, for on this depends everything else — the opportunity for education, enjoyment, leisure and service.

Politics has come to have a purely artificial connotation. It has become identified with being out late at night at the club, it has become an excitement, a game, a dissipation. But the relation of politics to the job is still a vital one and its inner value needs emphasis.

Labour is the foundation of society. Opportunities for work are of the first importance. Where capital is already assured, the value of labour is perceived but not felt. For the rich, the sense of labour is therefore dulled. For the middle class it is recognised and felt, but there are other aspects of life on a par with labour for interest and attention. For the working class, labour is first, pre-eminent, absorbing. The job therefore is the centre around which other influences and interests play. Anything else has to minister to the work interest. To get a good job is the foundation of progress; to lose a job means

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tragic disaster. The great business of life is to get and keep a good job. From this springs the possibility of a better education for the children, and in general a larger life, with more hope in it. Whatever we recognise as a benefit, as valuable, we instinctively expect the state, the larger self, to recognise also. The state takes the colour of the person thinking of it. To the rich man the state is that which ought to recognise the claims of property, of power, of leadership. To the middle class the state is the educator, the progressive agent of the common will. To the working man the state is the public attitude toward labour. That which makes it possible to secure and to hold jobs is good. And as long as the insecurity of labour lasts, the state will be thought of in this way. Our ideas of God, of government, of politics, of philosophy, must bear a close correspondence to our experience. "When I was a child I thought as a child." One of the most disastrous evils of the inequalities in economic circumstances is the divided attitude towards the nature and value of the state. In a democracy a common thought about the state should be the national basis for development. But there are in fact as many thoughts about the state as there are primary economic interests to satisfy. And these divisions indicate a clash of desires. The state becomes something to "work," not the living spirit of all the citizens associated together for a common purpose. For the public welfare is substituted the public trough.

The solid values of self-interest can never be secured so well, however, single handed, as when organised. Political societies have, therefore, arisen whose

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object has been to organise self-interest in politics, just as manufacturers' associations and trade unions have arisen to organise self-interest in the economic field. Politics has thereby not only copied business but has become business. And business, to perfect itself, has become politics. The marriage of politics and business, while sinister, has a lasting psychological value. The politics not serving the interest of the groups that make up society is an unreal or inactive politics. The business that is indifferent to politics may be undermined by the attacks of other business interests. The crude form that this alliance took was in the beginning the securing of favours and special privileges. The rich secured the big plums and the poor the little ones, each proportionate to its demands. The franchises went to the rich and the jobs to the poor. It is only as the idea of public interest as opposed to class or group interest has become dominant that this system has weakened. Naturally public interest has been more largely reinforced from the middle class than from either of the other classes. But often there has been a combination which has defended the predatory interests of one or the other group. Thus the middle class and the working class have combined to defeat the further granting of long time franchises, and on the other hand the upper and middle classes have been in favour of civil service reform which has cut down extensively the spoils system. The politician now has to appear more powerful than he really is. There are, however, still services it is possible for him to render, but they are more largely social than business-political. A good introduction may lead

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to a good work opportunity, even though the old avenues are closed.

That Americans should have a common ideal is the national hope of all. This is what is involved in the idea of "Americanisation." But it is naïve to suppose that a common purpose can be secured by oratory, by symbolism or by any short cut. The content of the word "American" must correspond to an experience of America. I know a New England lady who frankly says she is first a New Englander and only very secondarily a citizen of the United States — an American. To many of us born and brought up in New England, of English ancestry, and with well defined political views derived from New England's history and practice, this is doubtless true, even where we dislike to admit it. This group claims for itself the true Americanism, pure and undefiled. Americanism is, under such a definition, a lump, a deposit, delivered once for all to the New Englander. Americanism is a thing of the past, to be kept up in the present and cherished for the future. Aristotle's idea that the nature of a thing is its end makes no appeal to this type of mind. The old-colonial hyphenated American has perhaps as little understanding of Americanism as any other hyphenated group. What is true of many New Englanders is also true of Southern groups and of other groups of old America. All the traditions and beliefs of these groups are valuable. They are all a part of America, but, when any group maintains its isolation or supremacy or makes claims that it alone is the real depository of Americanism, it may well be regarded with suspicion.

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The immigrants in coming to this country come largely to make their fortunes. But they come also because they have hopes of a wider liberty, a more equal chance, a better education for the children and in general a larger outlook. They come ready for loyalty. They expect to gain, but they do not come in the spirit of antagonism to the government many felt in their old homes, owing to political, religious or economic oppression. They are ready to meet America half way, and many are prepared for a positive and enthusiastic loyalty. The most zealous and ardent Americans have been immigrants.

The children in the public schools lead more nearly a life of real democracy than any other group. They are instilled with a common point of view. They lead a united life of work, play, and hope. The reason is, not because they daily salute the flag, but because there is no strain to which their loyalty is subjected. Here we have a picture of what an adult society could be where work, play and aim are fused in one. But the parents of these children live in quite another world. While their children are saluting the flag, the adult immigrant hunts for work. He finds a contractor or a contractor finds him. He gets a place. He gets on,—but it is not long before he is quite disillusioned as to the actual practices of America. He sees preferment, privileges, great differences in modes of living. He may even find it hard to find a decent tenement to live in, especially if he is employed in construction work at some camp. Without leisure, constantly in the society of immigrants like himself, he gradually builds up with them a group consciousness which it is

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idle to suppose can be broken down. He naturally seeks to work with people from his own country, just as Americans tend to create colonies in foreign cities. He cannot divest himself of all his old points of view, any more than the Englishman in India divests himself of his. We cannot expect a rapid change and we should indeed be suspicious of the man who could too readily part with his old life. He meets with the baser side of American life, with the tenement, the saloon. He sees about him the dance hall, the political club, all the coarser expressions of life. Often exploited, cheated, despised, he may well feel himself apart. He cannot be expected to love and admire his detractors and exploiters.

To expect the adult immigrant to be an enthusiastic American, shut in as he is on all sides with no opportunity or, at best, a most limited opportunity to get acquainted with other forms of American life, is indeed naïve.

It is in the second generation that we must most largely look for "Americanisation." But the children Americanised in the schools grow up. And they grow away from the simple, inexperienced patriotism of childhood into conditions of life and work which quickly tear away the mask of idealism and reveal the grimness of struggle, of industrial and social handicap. Nevertheless the opportunities for success in the struggle are still ample enough, provided the period of early youth is spent profitably. If the school period is prolonged, if the school spreads over an ever larger area of the child's life and includes play, vocational training, the use of the library, and opportunities for acquaintanceship with nature and

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art; if, in short, the opportunities for the unrelated street life of the young and for other too early forms of freedom from educational restraint are cut off, the transition from school to work will be a profitable flowing sequence without hiatus. This will eliminate the social waste and wreckage that has taken place through social neglect. It is not that the immigrant does not desire to become American, but rather that a cordial welcome, a practical fraternalism and democracy, is lacking in the attitude of Americans towards him. The first persons to Americanise therefore are ourselves. If we protect the immigrant from exploitation, if we insist on a better standard of training, of sanitation, of education, of public recreation, the immigrant will be a good American.

The wonderful fact is that to-day he is a more ardent patriot, even under adverse conditions, than the plain American of colonial stock. In the first place he takes voting more seriously. To be sure he is more certain to be rounded up on election day. He feels the pressure of neighbourly influence and appeal more vividly than the man of another economic status upon whom the local, the neighbourly idea makes a very limited impression. But in city industrial districts the election district captain, the local leader, knows every voter in his district.

Neither independence nor indifference can flourish in an economically insecure class. Insecurity means bolstering one's position from every side — one must not create enemies, one must conform, one must go with the crowd. Independence is a luxury the poor can ill afford. The effect of political influence is therefore cumulative. Where there is a fairly even

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balance between two parties in a neighbourhood, independence becomes possible. But where one political party is dominant, its influence becomes all absorbing. Even the minority in that case is practically a subsidiary company. It has the form of opposition, but the reality of it gets squeezed out, and in fact the opposition is often only nominal. Dummy candidates are put up, and if there are profits accruing to the local political organisation some of the crumbs go to the subsidiary company. This dominance is, as I have said, cumulative. Gradually it brooks no opposition. The person who desires to get on can less and less afford to fight against so formidable an organisation. He accepts it. He conforms. Within the fold he can in a way achieve a greater independence than he has the strength to maintain as an outsider. The contour of the organisation changes gradually from its internal struggles as well as from the necessity of modifying its methods due to pressure from the public as a whole.

Politics are personal, vivid and realistic for the men of the industrial districts. Election Day is a true festival. It is not a holiday as it is for other classes, but a veritable festival to be likened only to the religious festivities of Christmas or Easter. It is a day that means something. There is an inner excitement in the air. An old Irishman, a dweller of the block where I live, was a typical possessor of this inner interest. On Election Day he would always wear a frock coat, go to the barber's, and with his election inspector's badge pinned to his coat, his manner invested with added dignity, and his memory full of the adventures of countless such

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days in the past, he spent the day in solemn reminiscent pleasure. Old Mr. Flaherty in his earlier years used to run a saloon in which centred all the vivid gossip and life of the neighbourhood. In his later years he would sit on a big keg at the corner and enrich the lives of all of us with his embroidered many-coloured tales. But on Election Day, though memory still played its part, it was a real, present, life that overflowed his soul. On these days alone living experiences vitalised the old man's existence. On these days alone life became natural, normal, interesting.

Workers for the organisation are likely to get the small plums falling to election district inspectors and watchers. Headquarters pays expenses. Leaders and workers drive about from polling place to polling place (at the expense of the party) to see how things are going. If the vote is heavy in the morning, work is light, but if the vote is late in coming in, each voter is hunted up and urged to come and cast his ballot. Many delay with the hope of payment. But as it is now difficult under the modern ballot systems to be sure how a man has voted, and as in this way the corrupt voter will often claim payment from both sides, the parties have tacitly agreed that it is wasteful to risk money on so uncertain a hazard. Payments were now made are far less crude than in the old days when rolls of money were openly shown and passed out at polling places. Reimbursement for time lost at work is the favorite euphemistic expression for payment. The party organisations generally object to the modern ballot. They introduce an element of inse-

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curity into the situation. Smoothness of running order, efficiency, is the ideal of party organisation. This the modern ballot tends to disintegrate. It was so much easier to vote under a star or the eagle than it is to pick out the party candidates from an alphabetical row. Opposition to woman suffrage, in so far as it exists in party organisation, is due to the same motive. It tends away from certainty. No one knows just how the cat will jump. Why therefore advocate suffrage? Let well enough alone. On the other hand as far as immediate results are concerned, dominant parties may well endorse woman suffrage, since by the general law of averages the bulk of the women of a neighbourhood will tend to vote in the same way as the bulk of the men. Sex antagonism as a political factor is not yet widespread, and independence is not more common among women than among men. The politicians realise this, but they do not know what the final result of this enlarged electorate will be. They realise that new elements in control will have to be sought — in fact that the situation will be more complicated. And it is always foolish to let one's self in for difficulties.

The unseemliness of women's engaging in political action is a less cherished emotion year by year for the working man, when his sister and his daughter are wage workers. The politician has with wisdom abandoned the slogan of "woman's place is the home," because he knows that as a matter of fact he is not prepared or able to keep her from the factory and the shop. His real objection to the entrance of women into politics is that she will render forecasts uncertain.

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What do the women themselves desire? Do they wish enfranchisement? The working girl trained in trade organisation is a suffragist. She sees the necessary connection in a democracy between the worker and the State. But the young working girl, the "learner," the cash girl, cares no more to exercise the ballot than does the boarding-school boy. The whole subject is uninteresting at that age for the most part. The young girl is interested primarily in boys and next in any form of pleasure that appeals to her imagination or forces. She is a budding flower, inexperienced, growing. It is only as she develops through work association that the significance of political self-expression and action is revealed to her.

But the majority of women marry. What is the attitude of the home woman to suffrage? If she has been a suffragist before marriage, she will remain one. But if she has no convictions, she is so engrossed in her domestic life that the whole subject seems far away, unreal, unrelated. Just as other customs and ideas trickle through other classes to the working classes, so the consideration of woman's political enfranchisement, emanating from the middle class, begins to permeate workingmen's families. The industrial family is conservative. Changes are not likely to be initiated in the groups where economic insecurity renders them precarious, except for the most adventurous spirits. The women of the industrial family need first to be assured that the movement is not eccentric. They prefer the known, the usual, conformity, to the dangerous paths of any kind of adventure. But now that woman suffrage

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has become an established fact in so many states and the movement is so strong in every class and group, it is spreading with cumulative force. Women's earlier ideas of politics were associated with their husbands' social life. To the wife politics meant her husband's absence at the club evenings, and the vague, economic advantages that might accrue from this association. She regarded politics as a game and, more or less indulgently, thought of her husband as having a childlike joy in this sport. Then there was the practical consideration that it might possibly be of some solid family benefit at some time. But the view of politics she absorbs from the middle class propaganda is a wider and more inspiring presentation. Women see their own work in its larger aspects. They feel new powers, an infusion of hope. Life brightens up. No one need fear that women will abandon duty for the sake of politics. The women of the industrial family are full of wisdom, responsibility and realism. When they get interested in politics, it is not to abandon responsibility, but rather to give it a new and delightful flavour. The larger life has more tang in it. The world is interesting and this new flood of interest flows back into the home and vitalises it.

The attitude of children towards politics is worth noting. To the child politics does not exist except in the dramatic moments when it is translated into pageantry. Processions, parades, red lights, speaking on street corners and the excitement of election day, sum up politics to the child. In our neighbourhood the children collect all the pieces of wood they can find, they break up boxes and barrels, get old

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broken furniture from the areas and yards and put it all together in some concealed place where the fairly indulgent eye of the policeman will not feel obliged to spy it out. Then it is dragged to a street corner at nightfall and the mass is lighted. The name for this wood that is collected is "election." The boys collect, pile together and burn "election." The name of the day is transferred to the material which to them renders it significant.

Political preferment in industrial districts is secured by following an orthodox course. The party worker who is known for zeal, reliability and political orthodoxy will start as a candidate for alderman. The expenses of his campaign depend upon the liveliness of the opposition. Where he has a "sure thing" there is practically only the item for printing the photographic posters with which to decorate local shops and saloon windows. It is not even necessary to take the stump. But where the opposition puts up a lively campaign, the candidate must make personal appeals, speak, travel from one corner of the district to another in his own interest.

And if he has many workers with him he will be expected to help pay their expenses. From the city he will expect to go to the state legislature. Here in the old days there were countless opportunities to meet one's expenses by voting away franchises. These crasser forms of bribery have gone by, due to the extensive publicity that attended them. It is difficult for a poor man without private means to live suitably on his income as legislator. The strain on his morality is great. It is not to be wondered at that when good tips are given it should be tacitly

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understood that the kindness shared be rewarded by acquiescence in a desired vote when the time comes. The delicacy of the quid pro quo may give a perfectly gentlemanly quality to such friendly reciprocity. Until adequate public compensation is given, one cannot expect the situation to be permanently altered. If the politician expects to go ahead, his political orthodoxy must not be seriously called in question. He may occasionally take a harmless flier into apparent independence, but on all important measures he must vote according to orders in order to ensure his political future. Higher candidacies are more expensive. The districts are larger, there is likely to be more of a fight. With no money to maintain a higher position, the anxieties attendant upon taking higher political positions without private means are increasing, now that the light of publicity shines more and more brightly. For this reason local judicial appointments, positions in the district attorney's offices and similar positions which do not make large social demands are increasingly desirable.

Now where in all this does the public welfare come in? Can there be no such thing as an independent disinterested politician? There can be and there are. But they have to come either from a group which is financially secure so that to them preferment is economically unnecessary, or else from a group willing to exercise self-sacrifice and to be indifferent to the possible loss of worldly success. And, too, there are politicians, and many of them, who begin in the orthodox way outlined and who gain sufficient strength and influence by their personalities

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or the popularity of the measures they advocate to be able to afford to be independent of party support. But these are all, relatively speaking, exceptions. The person who spends the most of his time in politics tends to make of it a business. The public can best safeguard itself against corruption by the payment of adequate salaries.

The form independence in politics takes depends on many factors. The old-fashioned "mugwump" was the man who declared that he would vote according to conviction. He declared his independence of party rule. The mugwump was not a politician seeking office, he was a voter who had cut loose. So powerful was party organisation in the United States till within the last quarter of a century, that such a person was regarded as extreme and almost ludicrous. To the "mugwump" we owe a great debt of gratitude. His weakness was due to his lack of programme. There was nothing positive about him. Such a man could evidently flourish only in circles where political independence involved no serious loss of standing. Mugwumpery never flourished among the working class. Simply to be against a party or all parties had no kernel in it around which to cluster loyalties. To be independent just in itself brings few satisfactions. The "good government" independent was the direct follower of the mugwump. Here independence began to be not only actual but constructive. But "good government" is a cold idea and does not lend itself to popularisation. In the first place what is "good government"? "Good" for what and for whom? A "bad" government may have "good" results, as

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in the case of New York's acquisition of Central Park through undoubted graft. And a "good" government may not make life more livable for the group it should serve. The very expression "good government" begs the question. One has to know for what purpose government exists, to know whether it is good or not. "Good government," like mugwumpery, made no dent on the politics of the industrial family. "Good government" is the immediate precursor of the "business administration" idea in politics. But, as we have pointed out, business ideals cannot deeply appeal to working people whose position in business is that of the employed rather than that of the employer. Accuracy, promptness, speed, efficiency, are all the virtues of the employing class. They are the concomitants of the possession of property. Where "property" is a weak idea, the "business administration" idea is also vague, unreal, or regarded with suspicion. For the unexpressed doubt that trails over this political dogma is as to whom the business administration will really benefit. Will the working class be to the good if there is a "business administration"? Mugwumpery, good government, and business administration, are all upper class forms of political independence. It is only where independent political action clusters about a vivid programme or an appealing idea, or a powerful personality, that independence makes its way among working men. Such an idea as "prohibition" may be so presented as to win support in even the most unpromising districts. The evils of alcoholism are too poignantly known not to make its abolition a matter of vital concern. Still an isolated moral idea

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has not such a good chance to spread as an economic doctrine. Wherever it can be made to appear that a given programme would mean, if carried out, a breakdown of privilege by which the working class can make its way up more freely, there will be adherence. This was the case with the Hearst party movement, and is far truer with the single tax or socialist movements. In the case of single tax, the powerful and appealing personality of Henry George emotionalized the propaganda and gave it a popularity the doctrine itself would hardly have won unaided. Socialism as a working class movement had in its inception the impetus received from the trained leadership of foreign-born socialists who spread the gospel of Marx on the solid basis of enthusiastic study. Socialism meant for vast numbers of working men, and still means, a philosophy of life. It is an interpretation of the past, a propaganda for the present and a faith for the future. It is a programme, an enthusiasm and a fellowship. In all these points it resembles religion more nearly than it does politics. It is an outlook on life — a world view. And like religion it invites the greatest discussion and conflict. It has often been accounted a reproach to religion that about it have clustered the most violent passions. But it is because of its supreme importance that this is true, and the same may be said of any world-view. Socialism bursts the bonds of its own narrower orthodoxies. It refuses to retain its earlier character. Even though socialism be convinced that Marxism would, under modern conditions, lead away from socialism, it does not abandon its faith. It hunts rather for new

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grounds for faith. Having acquired the characteristics of a faith, it finds its vitality not in its dogma but in its hopes. Nevertheless, on the whole, socialism makes its greatest appeal to those of the workers who are naturally predisposed to a love of system. To the imaginative Irish it makes less of an appeal than to the intellectual Jew. In the case of the Irish there is the added influence of the Roman Catholic Church, to which most Irishmen belong, which has through a papal bull, declared against socialism as inimical to the faith. The Church has seen that socialism is more than an economic doctrine, and that though it has made no formal declaration against religion, it is, nevertheless, as a practical matter of fact a rival to religion as a hope for humanity. On the other hand many Christians find in socialism so close a correspondence to their own hopes that they merge Christianity and socialism as the spirit and form of the order they desire and hope to see actualised.

To make the working class "self-conscious" as a whole in America has so far been a failure. The gallant attempt of the Knights of Labour to build up a solid labour party is the only example of a great general movement that seemed to have in it the promise of success. The ideals of the Industrial Workers of The World, while lofty, have so far failed to make a great synthesis.

"Progressivism," the great bolt from the Republican party in 1912, never made serious inroads into the political interests of the industrial group. Several prominent labour leaders were aligned with the Progressive Party, either through enthusiasm

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for Roosevelt's vital personality, or out of disgust with other parties, or here and there it may be with the hope that Progressivism would turn out to be a true labour party. But taken all in all, the Progressive Party movement was middle class in its aim and nature, a powerful critique upon existing conditions, but there it ended. The great mass of working people are still aligned with the two existing dominant political parties. As education increases, and as Labour becomes more conscious of its power, we may expect to see an increase in the vote of minor parties especially of the Socialist party. But the great value of all the various groups composing the minor political parties is their influence upon the two dominant parties. The gradual changes taking place in legislation due to this outside pressure are not accurately measurable, but are obviously important.

The truth is that the industrial family is conservative in its politics as it is in its social customs. Changes are disliked or feared. Caution is universal. For while there is an opportunity to rise, all action will be adjusted to this possibility. And this opportunity still exists. As long as the worker in the factory can become a foreman he will not be so likely to act, vote, or think, with great political independence. Financial security is his first concern. Some heroic or adventurous spirits will resist this appeal to security, but they will obviously be exceptions. The very men who would be political and industrial independent leaders are chosen for positions of importance by employers. Thus constantly goes on the draining process. A hopeless

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economic class may become revolutionary, but no economic class in America is as yet so hopeless as to make a class revolution probable or feasible. The changes that occur take place within the social structure, not outside it. Yielding to popular demand is regarded by some as pusillanimous. But it is only by the incorporation in our political system of such measures as meet the deeper desires of the groups that make up the nation, that the democratic machinery can stand the strain of change without serious breakage.

The relation of the newly arrived immigrant to politics is not without interest. In general there is the same indifference on the part of the regular politician to the immigrant as there is to woman suffrage and for the same reason. To achieve satisfactory results, too much time and labor is involved. There is therefore no great rush on the part of the working politicians to naturalise foreigners. Still it is desirable to have a few good henchmen from each group attached to the organisation treated with respect and cordiality, in order that when it becomes necessary to increase the vote, there will be sub-lieutenants speaking the same language and understanding the psychology of the situation who can be relied upon for responsible action. The naturalisation of foreigners cannot be relied upon therefore to take place automatically out of political interest. It is rather the function of disinterested citizen bodies, preferably the departments of education themselves to interest the foreigners to become naturalised.

Much has been made of the "ignorant" vote of

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the industrial districts. But "ignorance" is a universal prerogative. Ignorant of what is the proper question. On questions of national importance, the voters are called upon to register their opinions very infrequently. Political platforms may be made the basis of decision, but as a matter of fact few voters cast their ballots in behalf of platforms. Planks here and there attract attention and excite comment, enthusiasm, or hostility, but generally political decisions are made on the basis first of custom and association, second, on personality, third, on the general total effect of the campaign including some consideration of the platform, and fourth, on dissatisfaction with the administration in power.

First comes custom and association. One in the habit of voting the Republican, Democratic or Socialist ticket is not likely to change. It is easy to find convincing arguments to support one's predilections. The taste and temper of one's mind moulded by association is far more likely to be the determining cause of one's political expression than is logic. Very few sit down, try to disassociate themselves from all collateral interests, and attempt to settle their political attitude by reason alone. This would involve a political philosophy, a convinced view of the state and its relation to the members of the state on the one hand, and other nations on the other. If the ignorant vote includes all who are without rational political self-consciousness, then it includes practically the entire electorate. The fact is, voting is a rough and tumble, helter skelter made up of many elements. It represents the total atti-

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tude of the voter toward the life of society, including his prejudices, his interests, his traditions, and his rational convictions. The professional man, the business man, and the working man all vote in this way — but their associations, prejudices and interests all vary. The professional man is more inclined to emphasise the disinterested and rational element, the business man business interests, and the working man the interests of labour. But in no class does economic interest play a part uninfluenced by other motives. Interest may be the dominant note, but it is interest so coloured by other motives as not to be always calculable on election day. Thus we have as a whole great groups voting more or less solidly but always with a margin of elasticity. The element that is at the time most conspicuous whether it be that of a personality or of a living issue overlapping for the moment other conditions, may prove the marginal interest that will decide an election. Political motives, interests, and arguments are all aired in the public press. People generally take the newspapers on the whole more nearly mirroring their own general point of view. Still aeration continually takes place and perhaps the chief value of elections lies in the educational mission of campaigning.

Campaigning has acquired a definite technique. It includes the printing and posting of candidates' photographs, the printing and distribution of campaign literature, speaking from trucks or automobiles or street corners, torch light processions, parades with bands, political meetings in halls, and, most important of all, the personal campaign of the candidate from saloon to saloon, club to club,

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and where necessary, from house to house. Parties send out final letters to all registered voters soliciting their votes. Scandals and all red hot political sensations are not let loose till toward the end of the campaign, for they are likely to prove boomerangs if time is given to answer them.

But all this type of campaigning has become a little shop-worn. It is expensive and ceases to produce results. In solid districts it is a waste of time and money to campaign. Photographs in the windows and the final letter to all voters amply suffice. The personal campaign always pays well. Those campaign speeches are best which stick to a very few issues. These must be presented in a taking manner with plenty of humour, vim and dash. Discontent with the existing situation is telling. Prosperity must be guaranteed. The note of hope and security as over against disillusionment and disappointment must be struck. All campaigners do this instinctively. No campaign orator would ever be allowed to mount a platform to say that he hoped the candidate he favoured and the policies he endorsed might prove beneficial to the audience, but that it was problematical and dependent on a good many other concomitant circumstances, and that after all nothing was so fundamentally important as a good wheat crop and an improved public education! The campaigner must convince his audience first of all of his own enthusiasm and belief. He must present the issues as vital. While this is necessary for the campaigners, the effect of this type of speaking is not by any means wholly satisfactory. It is decidedly subject to the law of diminishing returns. The vot-

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ers gradually perceive that pre-election promises are not only not fulfilled but are often quite incapable of being fulfilled. Disillusionment and scepticism seep into the subconsciousness of the voter. Political action begins to ring hollow. And at times the whole procedure of political government looks formal and conventional, the true values of life being contained in those processes and group relationships which exist apart from political life and whose vitality goes on untouched by political change and fortune. This political indifferentism assumes various expressions, from the golf-playing absenteeism of the well-to-do on registration or election days to the more vital political distaste of the group among working men, who favour "direct action" rather than the roundabout and devious paths of political change to accomplish the results they desire. This revulsion from political interest has in its elements of real danger, for it is not capable of fruitfulness taken alone. We are committed on the whole to the method of political change. And slow and often dreary as this method is, we must embrace it. The course to follow is to incorporate into political life the vivid and real interests of people. Where politics are formal and conventional they are bound to become a business, and professional politics becomes a thing apart from the vital interests of life. But where politics is a translation of the most powerful human interests into group action, where politics ceases to be a game, and becomes the community deciding its own destiny, indifferentism will disappear. Thus the more democratic the government, the more hope it has of permanent endurance.

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We come back to our original inquiry. How does the political expression of the industrial family affect the state?

In so far as political experience is warped by the cramping of a poverty-stricken environment it is obviously the part of a democratic state to remove those obstacles which in the end will endanger the life of the community as a whole. Not by disenfranchisement, but by an adequate social-economic policy of the community towards every class, will permanent progress be possible in a democratic country. The politics of our country must increasingly formulate, emphasise and provide for the effective carrying out of a public policy of industrial justice and social efficiency. The politician must not only register the views and desires of his constituents, but he must be the efficient community organiser. Politics must become community organisation.

The working class, because it is the strongest numerical class, has America's future in its hands. A more intelligent, prolonged and efficient public education should therefore be of primary federal concern. A national educational policy is the first step in intelligent contemporary American politics.

CHAPTER X

RELIGION

Religion is the capacity to face life triumphantly. In discussing the life of working people it is of the first importance to discover whether the group as a whole is hopeful and if so what is the content of the hopes it possesses. Here as in the other aspects of life we have considered, it is not possible to lump all the members of the group under one accurate category. There are persons possessed of high hopes, of indifference, or of despair in every group. But what we have to discover are the main currents of hope as they manifest themselves in the working class.

A belief in God is almost as universal as a belief in the rising of the sun. Like that belief it is so taken for granted as to be almost negligible. This kind of belief does not stir the blood or make for action. Life presupposes these beliefs, but they do not necessarily increase vital energy. Such a belief may or may not be a spring of hope. Other religious beliefs similarly are negligible from the point of view of action. Here and there a believer will really believe. He then becomes an exception, almost an eccentricity, sometimes thought of popularly as a pest. For belief makes people uncomfortable. Like a fermenting liquor too strong for its container,

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belief makes for disruption, a break-up of that calm well-ordered indifference which we have accustomed ourselves to think necessary for social cement. Powerful convinced belief, like its opposite, thoroughgoing scepticism, is rare in all classes. Most people manage to get along without committing themselves wholly to anything. A surrender to truth implies a more closely-knit personality than most people possess. We have invented the name fanatic for the person who stakes all on his convictions, thereby showing our distrust for him. This distrust is based on our subconscious confidence in life which is made up of so many inter-relations that we hesitate to give the palm to any one of them. This confidence in life is religious too. It is another form of hope. Thus both fanaticism and indifferentism may claim in a sense to be religious.

Undoubtedly the chief springs of hope lie primarily in the constitution of humanity which seeks for fulfilment in a happy mating and then in securing a better foothold in the world for the children than the parents possessed. The sex impulse is the mother of all the hopes. And closely allied to this primitive form of hope is the social hope that springs from a wider association. Not only the family but the neighbourhood forms the group-life in which the individual grows. This neighbourhood sense widens with the advance of science, means of communication, development of language and literature and the ever more complex association which arises from all types of group action. Hope for one's own children leaps to the hope for all children and the dream of a finer, more successful, happier humanity makes its appear-

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ance. Hope in action is purpose. The dream of a perfect society and the will to create it emerges.

But hope has refused to limit itself even to this vast, scarcely attempted accomplishment. Long before this social idea became in any sense widespread, hope was enmeshed in fear and the combination of the two got itself named religion. The man thrilled with the hope of securing a mate and then of advancing his children, was also aware of a fear of unseen unknown powers. He projected this fear into nature, and death did not allay it. For the dead refused to die, but, allied with the unseen powers of nature, partook of their shadowy vague character. This persistence of life — its omnipresent quality — had in it the double nature of attraction and fear. It has taken great transmutations in thought and experience to replace this fear by hope. But countless thousands have genuinely embraced this hope so that death has lost its terrors and life has claimed for its own thereby an infinitely larger horizon. We name this claim that the universe itself is life, religion. The hopes that have enabled people to live in any sense triumphantly are then bound up with the fundamental nature of sex, of society, and of religion. All three have projected themselves into the realm of imagination, and art has been the result. Art is the expression of hope, but sex, society and religion are the material out of which hope is wrought. These are progressive forms of the same elemental belief in life and its eternal triumph.

By the religious man we mean the man who wants life and has found the secret of how to get it. In the life of sex and of society the key to life is found

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in surrender. Self-expression and personality are closely entwined with renunciation so that neither can exist without the other. Renunciation for its own sake is valueless — for the sake of others, it makes life fruitful. This law of life is the heart of religion. The religious person is he who follows this law, whether he knows himself to be religious or not. He that loseth his life shall save it. Life and love are seen to be one in "this world" or in any other. And eternal life ceases to be the shadowy fearful persistence of primitive man and becomes rather a persisting life of love.

Religion we have defined as the capacity to face life triumphantly, and this hope we see capable of realisation in a life of love.

If we then seek to discover what are the religious springs in America's city working class we must ask what is the content of the life of the family and of all the social associations in which the family is set. Is the fraternal life of mutual devotion to be found, and what are its forms?

Certain aspects of family life have been already referred to in the chapter on health. We have seen that the sex attraction has been thought of primarily in all primitive groups as shame and sacrifice. Love is not so much to be gloried in as to be modestly screened from comment. But family association even where coarsened by too bitter a poverty still by its very narrowness works out into a united struggle for existence where each member of the family must play his co-operating part. The man contributes his labor and wages, the woman unceasing family cares, the growing children their wages, and

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long-continued obedience. This last cannot be understood except in the light of the joint struggle for existence. I have heard a girl seventeen years old defend the right of her mother to whip her whenever she felt it necessary. The unity of family life is necessary for economic and social success. Young men up to the time of their own marriage often pay in all their wages to their mother just as the husband does. The older children help in the care of the younger children. All help. It is necessary.

Thus habits of social interdependence, of mutual help, of fraternalism, of loving renunciation get established. In no other economic stratum is family life so close and so powerful for nowhere else is it so necessary. It is true that working-class families do exist where the strain is too great and the united life snaps. A drunken father may drive away the growing boys. A mother broken in health may not be able to do her share, in which case family disintegration is almost certain, as she is the centre of the labouring group, of equal importance both to husband and children. The normal working family is a hive of interdependent members and the good of the family is the chief concern of each member of the group.

The family lives, according to our definition, a more religious life, that is a life of hope for the group based on love and service, than families in other economic strata. As the group progresses financially this closeness is bound to loosen or disappear. The family as a unit gives way to the individual. The necessity for mutual service becomes less obvious. The individual having lost his

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old moorings may or may not find his life in larger associations. But loyalty and service are not so native to him as to the man who was brought up in the close family life which had its solid roots in necessity.

The man whose early life was thus in essence religious, no matter how crude or even repellent were many of the features of this closely-knit relationship, goes out to other associations with a training for loyalty. He comes into relationships, neighbourly, social, political, with a realistic quality unknown to the man brought up as an individual rather than as a member of a group. The life of association is already understood by him.

The modern world is essentially a world of association. The man who cannot live satisfactorily in his related life has no place in this modern world. And if training, equipment, is necessary for this association, in no class can that training be secured so naturally and so effectively as in the working class. Of course the closeness of family life brings its own reactions. But even where the younger members of a family revolt from the intimacies and interdependencies they regard as stifling, they have learned what association means, and they can transfer their allegiance to other groups. They know the interior quality of loyalty. This makes of them both the most conservative people in the world and yet the most hopeful, for, if their attachment to large group interests once is formed, it is no mere formal or intellectual interest, but it has in it the same vital qualities which developed in the hard-won family a loyalty founded on necessity. Neighbour-

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liness which is of this native sort cannot be manufactured out of a vague desire for good will. It is a fundamentally religious fact, that is, it is the mutual kindness which results from living together in a group where each is dependent on the other. The surrender of one to another or to the group is another form of that renunciation which builds up the family. Religion is thus possible only as the result of living in association, and it has its groundwork in necessity. The flowing of necessity into religion does not belittle religion. On the contrary it gives it a quality of permanence and reality. The kindness that exists one toward another among the poor has often been noted. The importance of this fact from a social point of view still needs to be made clear. The real reason for this kindness is based on the necessity for mutual assistance which is inherent in any group, without which the group could not cohere. Kindliness, fraternalism holds together social groups as sex love in its various transmutations holds together the family.

Religion is the giving of one's self to the group. He that loses his life finds it. Religion is this heart of life, the inner assurance of the truth that only by living into the life of others can one truly live. Everything vital bears the mark of this truth. Every lover knows it, every artist feels it, every critic recognises it, every neighbour assumes it, every statesman is driven to it. Democracy and religion touch, clasp, unite.

This capacity for service and surrender is seen to be more godlike than dignity and power. Humanity demands a God whose very essence is the

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love it alone has found serviceable for life. The God of Love thus breaks through human experience.

Where two or three are gathered together, the religious life is bound to appear, even though its manifestation may be crude, distorted, offensive. In every gang, at every lodge meeting, at every baseball game, at every dance, at every committee meeting, at the heart of every plotting group, no matter how base, breaks through like a shining light the desire and purpose of each to give himself to the common purpose. The most religious person is he who lives in completest fellowship.¹

The religious person is never the solemn, stiff, formal, conventional person often calling himself religious, but he is rather possessed of humility, gaiety and simplicity. To the religious person religion and life are fused in one. The universe is friendly and out of this friendliness spring hope, energy and the capacity for hard work unchilled by that conviction of the futility of all things that eats the heart out of the man who believes he is a brief flare in a dying and indifferent universe.

The quality of the working class as a whole is religious. The relation of the group to the church is quite another matter. Indifference to religious organisation does not imply irreligion, nor does church affiliation connote religion. An analysis of the religious values of the three great religious groups, Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism and their real significance to their adherents is necessary

¹ The Catholic expression for this idea is the "Communion of Saints," which includes in its wide fellowship both the living and the dead.

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to give us any notion, no matter how far from exhaustive, of the vitality of these media of religious feeling and practice.

Judaism is a great tradition. It is also a living faith. But faith and race pride are welded together. Without the dominant note of race pride and purity, Judaism is hardly to be distinguished from Unitarian Christianity or from any lofty ethical monotheism. Judaism at its heart is a race religion and its strength is in direct ratio to race pride and exclusiveness. Wherever this exclusiveness breaks down Judaism weakens. Judaism is thus both at its strongest and its weakest in countries where the Jews are forced to lead a life by themselves. In countries like Russia, Jews are either very orthodox or wholly indifferent or hostile to Judaism. In countries like Germany "Reformed" Judaism establishes itself as a rapprochement to Christianity without yielding its identity. In America the new-comers are in general Orthodox. Or if they belong to the "intelligentsia" they are indifferent. Reformed Judaism arises only with economic prosperity and social ease. It is not a religious medium of the immigrant or of workingmen. Orthodox Judaism, the religion of the Old Testament, has received through the ages a beautiful over-lay of form and festival. The great orthodox Jewish fasts and festivals are primarily family festivals. The Congregation is a group of families and the rabbi is leader, never priest. No central act of worship tends to consolidate the group, as in the case of Catholicism. But from birth to death there is a round of common religious practice which has endeared itself. Its hold is loosened only by the

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loosening of racial ties. Even unbelieving Jews will conform to Jewish custom at times of emotional excitement. On the Day of Atonement it takes indeed positive conviction or inner hostility to disregard the solemn fast when the whole race mourns together. Many are married "under the canopy" to whom religion has ceased to have any inner meaning but to whom the whole Jewish past makes a special plea for recognition when new family ties are being made, links in the precious chain of a unique history. The lighted candles on "Shabbas" eve, the picturesque feast of tabernacles, the ancient Purim recalling sacred memories and promises, all these marks of close association stamp Judaism with a vivid self-consciousness. Pride is blended with worship. The God of the universe is not so deeply cherished as the God of Israel. Judaism, though not philosophically nor logically separatist, in practice and in feeling is tribal and exclusive. In the modern American world of clashing standards where all races and religious customs meet and compete, Judaism tends to disintegrate. The younger generation of Jews are more Americans than they are Hebrews, and Judaism is bound to be more Hebraic than it is American. Judaism might indeed attract converts if it were not primarily Hebraic, but it is not in essence a proselytising religion, and no religion that is not proselytising has a chance to become universal. The modern man seeks the universal. Democracy, internationalism, these are the appeals that strike deepest. To this appeal Judaism is silent. The young man of Jewish parentage desires more to be a democrat than he does to be a Jew. He feels that

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he has outworn the older forms; they no longer interest him except perhaps from an aesthetic, historical, or romantic point of view. As for giving himself wholeheartedly to Judaism — the kind of surrender we have seen to be the essence and heart of religion — that is very unusual.

A religion that does not command the whole powers of a person is a dying religion. Reformed Judaism is an adaptation of Judaism to social change. Just as the Christian church has become worldly and has lost its early fierceness and beauty of belief, so Judaism has become a convention, practically adapted to the use of those who find in it comfort, pleasure and stimulus. But religion has largely seeped out of it. The more ardent young spirits of Jewish parentage to whom religion is really vital, i.e., who must give themselves wholeheartedly, turn rather to the larger world-ideals which have embodied themselves in social hope and organisation. The Jew is readily an internationalist. He becomes an ardent democrat. He means to make democracy come really true. And just as the early Christian expected and longed for the immediate coming of the kingdom of heaven, so the ardent young Jew turns to the hope for a social revolution which shall indeed redeem society and make life a heaven on earth.

With that combination of practical ability and idealism that marks the Jew, he turns his faith into action. He works for international organisation and world emancipation. And as the form in which ideas get embodied is always bound to be imperfect and transitory, so the various revolutionary

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philosophies and beliefs have proved great nets for social ardour in which after a time they become enmeshed. Socialism may acquire as rigid a technique of expression as any church. The giant Marx has stamped his less powerful followers so that they find it difficult to acquire his freedom. But formal though the surrender may become, the essence of religion belongs to the man and woman who give themselves. More religious than a formalised Judaism is the social-revolutionary movement which claims the devotion of the finer spirits of the younger groups of American Jews.

The Protestantism of the city working class in so far as it is an effective vital thing is evangelical and orthodox. Just as the heart of Judaism — the element in it which retains the affection of its adherents is race pride and tradition, so the heart of Protestantism is evangelicalism. The salvation of the sinner from his sin, the redemption of the individual by a personal Saviour, is the substance of Protestantism. Protestantism has neither the group coherence that comes from the race solidarity of Judaism nor the corporate sense that comes from conceiving the Church as a living body — the Catholic conception.

The Protestant child "joins the church," not by the infant rite of circumcision which initiates the child into the Jewish group, or the sacrament of baptism which admits to the Catholic Church, but by a voluntary act at years of discretion, signifying a personal and conscious adherence to the faith made in the presence of the congregation. The congregation or church is thought of more as the sum total

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of believers than as the source of grace. It is true that Protestantism has never wholly lost sight of the thought of the Church "as the company of all faithful people," but the corporate idea is never so prominent as the relation of the individual soul to God. If evangelicalism weakens, Protestantism itself tends to disintegrate.

The introduction of the corporate idea, the social spirit, sometimes accompanies evangelicalism, but often appears in Protestantism just where evangelicalism has practically vanished. Sympathy with the working class, and the establishment of social justice as a necessary preliminary to spiritual progress, infused into Protestantism, produce "labour temples," popular forums, and ardent philanthropic and reconstructive zeal which find various channels for expression. The sectarian divisions, the weakness of the corporate idea, the reliance upon the individual to look after himself deprive Protestantism of presenting a solid front. Its values are not organic. They are not calculated to withstand any kind of disintegrating pressure from without. Poor in pageantry even the greater days in the Christian calendar are observed without enthusiasm, for ardour comes through association. Church attendance, not being a matter of obligation, from a desirable option tends to become only an occasional custom. Protestantism has never wholly lost the sacramental idea of the real presence of God in the common life, but the individual has been so emphasised at the expense of the group that sacramentalism has lost its poignancy and tends, like church-going, to fade away.

Another weakness in Protestantism as it is seen in

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the working class is its alliance with benevolence. In Judaism the corporate spirit is so strong that the rich may help the poor without serious offence owing to the closeness of the racial and traditional bond. It is a matter of ancient tradition and the custom has become established as honourable. In Catholicism almsgiving is an important feature of Catholic practice and self-support is encouraged and expected. But Protestantism which is stronger in the middle class than it is among working people, being a heritage of the older Americanism, implants itself in industrial communities rather than springs up from them spontaneously. It brings gifts to the people it serves rather than expects them to look after themselves. It has a philanthropic, a benevolent character not so marked in the stronger corporate groups. This benevolence further enfeebles its adherents, who, getting in the habit of receiving favours, settle down to a content the very opposite of a real Christianity whose essence is giving, not receiving. Doing good and being done good to divide the congregations. Proud women who refuse to receive charity and yet who have not the means to join the benevolent societies, gradually drift out of all but a nominal church membership. Religion is rarely presented as being hardy and adventurous enough to attract manly men. Protestantism seems to fail then both in not being of stern enough material to attract the strong and in not inciting to devotion through any adequate corporate life. The hope of Protestantism lies in the possibility of translating evangelical zeal into social forms and in infusing into its isolated experiences a corporate life.

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Catholicism, Roman, Greek, Anglican, but of course principally Roman, retains its hold far better than either Judaism or Protestantism. It is better equipped to meet modern conditions, for it has within it the very elements that are strongest in our social structure and on which reliance may be placed for reconstruction. Efficiency in organisation is its outward aspect, and a powerful corporate life is its very essence. In the Mass is presented a unique spur to devotion, binding the individual to the group in this sacrament of fellowship and unity. To attend Mass is obligatory for the faithful. Thus is built up a common loyalty and interest. Whether Catholic opinion be ultramontane or modernist, the whole structure is held together by devotion. Not dogma and ritual, but life binds together. And Catholicism is a life rather than an institution. Baptised into membership, early confirmation and communion, marriage within its fold, living the whole round of fast and festival with co-religionists, it may be possible to lapse and become a non-practising Catholic, but it is rare when reason alone, even if it appears cogent, detaches the Catholic from his faith and converts him to Protestantism. Mixed marriages often result in indifference but rarely in conversion. Dogma does not decide religious adherence any more than reason decides political faith. Even less, in fact. Religious affiliation and passion are dependent on a common life of devotion, sympathy and hope. Where a common social life is maintained among co-religionists there it is strongest. Just as Judaism weakens as race solidarity retreats to the background, and as Protestantism is

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enfeebled in its inadequacy in power of attack, so Catholicism weakens as other great attempts at human solidarity gain ground. All these forms of religion are not weakened to any extent by conversion from one form to another, but they all weaken in their attack on modern life. One reason for this is the divisions of Christendom. Another is that for the first time in history all world boundaries are disappearing, even where they appear to be held most tenaciously. All religions, races, customs, classes, opinions, are being brought together in the great world cities. And there is as yet no real synthesis, only a breakdown. The forces of conviction and solidarity are overborne by the rushing tide of varicoloured life.

Just as George Moore predicts that art will be destroyed by internationalism so one might prophesy that religious expression would be destroyed in this universal rapprochement. But as the artist will never believe that any world change can permanently do away with art, so the man who has experienced religion fails to be daunted by the weakening of all the forms held dear in the past and still retaining so much that is vital.

Life will create for itself adequate means of expression consonant with its new manifestations. The artist and the religious man will look not to the past but to the future, though he will not forsake the values that have emerged in history.

Church attendance is, of course, far more constant in Catholic churches than in Protestant, owing to its being a matter of obligation. Among working people Church attendance is at its maximum early in the

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morning or in the evening. Eleven o'clock service is more often attended by the well-to-do. In Catholic churches there is generally a children's Mass at nine. Women go early and then stay at home to get dinner and perhaps go to Benediction again in the evening. Protestant working people generally go to church at night. Orthodox Jews, of course, go to the Synagogue Friday (Shabbas Eve) and then on Saturday. Church attendance as a whole is more marked among working people than among the rich who leave town for the week-ends more and more. Besides the regular weekly services there are special features in all religious groups. Among Protestants there is the weekly prayer meeting, no longer a very vital service in industrial districts. Then there is the week of prayer, occasional revival services, church sociables and suppers and fairs. Catholics have special "missions" for the married, the unmarried, men and women, and there are novenas and many special devotions to meet the various religious needs of all kinds of people. Confession brings the Catholic in vital connection with the clergy. Old-fashioned Protestant ministers used to have a vital personal relation with their people by constant house-to-house visiting, and it was customary to engage in religious conversation and sometimes offer prayer at these visits. Busy Protestant ministers now do much less visiting, delegating this to parish visitors, largely women. The Protestant minister has office hours, it is true, and people do come to him for advice and help, but on the whole he tends to become a combination of preacher and executive secretary rather than a pastor of his flock. Church entertainments, in all re-

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ligious groups, are rather money-making affairs than true old-fashioned socials where all the parishioners could meet in the pleasure and satisfaction which comes from any gathering of the like-minded. These entertainments often include gambling devices. They are patently money-makers.

The value of social solidarity in religion is more deeply understood by Jews and Catholics than by Protestants. This is seen in the tenacity with which the Orthodox Jew still holds to the Jewish schools where the Jewish religion in Hebrew is daily taught after the children have attended public school, and by the Catholics who support and foster parochial schools in order not only that children may be taught the faith, for that could be taught in extra-school hours as in the Jewish plan, but that by being brought up in close contact with Catholics, children may acquire the inner support which comes from a common cultural atmosphere. The parochial school child breathes in a Catholic spirit, and Catholics know that atmosphere and life count for more than reason. This is a correct psychology.

What has Americanism to say to this school separatism? No objection can be made to private schools provided they meet the state's educational requirements. And yet democracy rests finally on building up a common consciousness and a common will. Freedom in association, religious, educational or social, can never be denied, and to force a common life upon those who are averse to it would defeat the end sought. But the State has a right to demand a certain standard below which private educational associations must not fall and it has no obligation to

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proffer financial aid to any but State-controlled groups. The religious private school strengthens the pupils in their religious convictions, but it has the disadvantage of segregating children from their fellows and thus making the task of bringing about a true democracy, where each will have understanding and respect for the other, more difficult. It may be that the solution of this problem will be found in the so-called Gary plan, by which a certain time may be reserved for the pupils during the week which can be placed at the disposal of the parents, and which thus can be utilised for religious instruction.

If Catholicism on the whole has a stronger hold on the working class than Judaism or Protestantism, all three show inefficiency in meeting the deepest contemporary needs. Vitality has seeped out of the religious moulds into other media of spiritual expression.

The working class is by no means united. It has no common aim. But there is gradually emerging a common consciousness, the substance of which is that life shall hold the same emoluments, treasures, values, for them as for the more favoured classes. This determination is founded not on the selfish desire for gain, but rather that the coming generation may have larger opportunities. The injustice of the present social order, which exalts private profit at the expense of the welfare of the community, is most bitterly felt by those whose labour keeps the present social order going without commensurate share in the distribution of the product. Thus socialism, trade-unionism, even freemasonry or lodge life, race

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consciousness and interests, all compete with religious organisations in attracting the enthusiasm and following of great groups. Undoubtedly the most important of these competitors is socialism. While there is nothing mutually exclusive in socialism and religion, as a matter of fact the great bulk of church members are not socialists, and the great bulk of socialists are not connected with religious organisations. Socialists on the whole have faith. They believe in the possibility, in fact the certainty, of a new economic order in which justice shall replace oppression and exploitation, and to secure this order they pledge their loyal support. This surrender of self to an end conceived of as desirable is, as we have seen, of the very essence of religion.

Great reservoirs of faith and power are thus stored up in movements generally thought of as non-religious or even assumed to be hostile to religion.

In every aspect of religion it is the will rather than the intellect that is primarily involved. Dogma attracts only the relatively few. Speculation and argumentation are not life. Deeper than religious organisation and belief is religious life, though the three are interrelated. And deeper than any speculation about socialism is the socialist movement itself, held together not by creed but by purpose. Dogma is commonly thought of as the registration by dead ecclesiastics of past life. But living experience is the guide to translate into terms of present life the dogmas which will shape the future. The utilisation of all the powers that make for hope is as necessary for society, as cheerfulness is necessary for the

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health of the individual. There is no world outlook as yet. In our religions we are still provincial. There has been no united attack on the part of all those who view life with conscious hope upon the attitudes toward life that make for disintegration and social failure.

The problem for religion is primarily how to organise effectively the stores of hopeful energy in humanity and release them for the making of a new world.

The slow process from the family up through the neighbourhood to city, state and nation, the religious consciousness will not allow to rest where it is, but is bound to see the process developed till the nations are bound together in a federated world.

For this consummation a long road must be travelled. Power now in the hands of the few must be more widely lodged. Power means money and intelligence. Education and wealth must be made more widely available throughout the world. The working class in America has political power and it can use this, if it will, to obtain a more adequate education and freedom from oppressive living and working conditions. A community can never prosper where any class or group is excluded from adequate self-expression. Political equality must be supplemented by educational equality, and an equality in the chance to secure a standard of living we properly and proudly name American.

Conservative, possessed of great stores of resourcefulness as yet untapped, trained in the capacity for association, the American workingman's family is a solid foundation on which to build our

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future. The most cautious need not fear to release its powers, for they contain at their very core that spirit of hope which transforms, and through which a new life pours into the world.

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